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BANTU LANGUAGE PIONEERS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY*

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I

INTRODUCTION

The "Age of Brusciotto" marked an almost mediaeval approach to the language problems presented by Bantu. From the fourth decade of the 19th Century right on through into the 20th Century, in increasing numbers, the Bantu languages began to be studied in a more modern method with more attention to their intrinsic structure. It might be stated that the mediaeval Latin approach of the "Age of Brusciotto" gave way to the imposition of modern European grammatical methods, in which only to a certain extent was "Bantu grammar" given any free play. Two decades of the 20th Century had to pass before any real move was made for the 100 per cent treatment of Bantu languages according to the genius of Bantu grammar.

The period commencing about 1830, down to the present day, became a period of intensive monograph study of the Bantu languages, a period in which almost all the research and recording work was done by missionaries, to whom Bantu literature owes an unrepayable debt. The 20th Century was well in before Native writers began to take a hand in the development of Bantu literature, although Tiyo Soga had made his great translational contribution to Xhosa as early as 1867.

During this period commenced the study of Comparative Bantu philology, attention to which will be given later.¹ Here, however, we deal mainly with investigations into and recording of the structure of the languages; reference will also be made to the great flood

of Bible translation work which started as early as 1830 with the publication of Moffat's translation of Luke's gospel into Tswana. The grammatical work and the translation work had to go on hand-in-hand. As the previous period had been one of contribution by the Roman Catholic missionaries, so this 19th Century period was pre-eminently one of contribution by the Protestant missionaries with all the zeal of the new missionary era, and their avowed policy of translating and spreading as widely as possible God's Word. Nevertheless 19th Century Roman Catholic contributions must not be lost sight of, and in their work these writers for the most part shared the more enlightened approach to the treatment of Bantu grammar.

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Before considering the distinctive monograph work done during the first half of the 19th Century, it will be well to refer to the contributions of several travellers and others in the early decades (and before), who appended to their publications vocabularies, and other information of varying value. It should be an essential, in the description of a people, to give some account of their language, and several travellers of this period realized this, but few had any real ability in correct observation and recording. We must realize, however, that no advantage could be taken by these travellers of any Bantu language work that had been done before—the writings of the Angola fathers and others were unknown to them, and they came into contact with Bantu tongues with no pre-

*This is a revised version of a paper published in *Bantu Studies*, 14, 3, September 1940.

¹The great names in this aspect of Bantu Studies before 1860 were Lichtenstein, Marsden, Boyce, Appleyard, Krapf and Bleek, while Prichard and Balbi contributed valuable summaries of the knowledge of their day.

paration whatsoever. The records of most of these writers are merely interesting relics of no philological value; two of them, Morgan and Kay, have recorded information received from missionaries; but there are two names which deserve rather more attention: these are Lichtenstein and Elliott.

The Bantu languages dealt with in these early accounts are limited. Xhosa is recorded by Sparrman (1776), Barrow (1801), Vanderkemp (1803), Lichtenstein (1806), Campbell (1815), Thompson (1827), Morgan (1833) and Kay (1833); Tswana by Lichtenstein (1806), Campbell (1815) and Burchell (1824); Ronga by White (1800) and Boteler (1835); Kongo and Mbundu by Degrandpré (1801), Tuckey (1816) and Douville (1832); while East African languages are referred to by Marsden (1778) and Salt (1814), and Comoro dealt with by Elliott (1821). The contributions of these various writers will now be considered in turn.

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The Swedish naturalist and traveller, **Andrew Sparrman, M.D.** (c. 1747-1820), recording his travels in "the Country of the Hottentots and Caffres" between the years 1772 and 1776, appends a "Specimen of the Language of the Caffres," in the form of a vocabulary of some sixty-three words, very incorrectly observed, a remarkable note to the effect that "the Caffres do not make a noise with their tongue against the roof of their mouths in speaking, as the Hottentots do, but pronounce their words in a manly and distinct manner, mostly with a strong accent on the penultimate," and a short "Air, sung by the Hottentot-Caffres, near Little Sunday-river" with musical notation. Sparrman's information on Bantu language is entirely misleading.² Nevertheless Sparrman's record is valuable as being the earliest

vocabulary of any South African Bantu language, it representing Xhosa.

In 1801 **John Barrow** (1764-1848), while private secretary to Lord Macartney at the Cape, recorded in his travels a few words of Xhosa contrasting them with Hottentot.³ He was in real difficulties over orthography, writing for instance, *umclabo* for *umhlaba*, *coloanje* for *ulwandle*, *incabai* for *inkaibi*, *gamtzo* for *ngomso*, etc.; nevertheless he remarked pertinently, "their language appears to be the remains of something far beyond that of any savage nation . . . It is as different from that of the Hottentots as the latter is from English."

The *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, Vol. 1, 1803,⁴ contained an interesting "Specimen of the Caffra Language" from the pen of **John Theodore Vanderkemp**, a Hollander who founded the South African Mission of the London Missionary Society. He was a man of great learning, first a soldier, then a skilful physician, becoming the director of a large hospital. The sudden death by drowning of his wife and daughter and his own tardy escape converted him from infidelity, and he became a missionary at the age of fifty years, sailing for Africa in 1798. He laboured among the Hottentots, principally on the borders of Kaffraria, until his death in 1811.

Dr Vanderkemp was well versed in the language of the Hottentots of the Eastern Cape, but his knowledge of Xhosa was not so profound. The "specimen" published by him was of considerable extent and comprised a section dealing with the alphabet and pronunciation, followed by a long vocabulary. His orthography is strange. He follows Le Vaillant's system for Hottentot in marking "the three clacks" by the figures 1, 2 and 3 placed above certain letters e.g. *n*, *g*, *kh*, *q*, or certain vowels, e.g. *qéixa*, a magician;

²Information and quotation are from the appendix to Vol. II of the English translation, 2nd ed. 1786, the full title of which is *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope towards the Antarctic Polar Circle, and Round the World: but chiefly into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffres, from the year 1772, to 1776*. Sparrman had accompanied Captain Cook on his voyage round the world.

³In all 34 Xhosa words in his *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, 1797-8, published in 1801.

⁴In *The Missionary Magazine* published in Edinburgh in 1801, is the following passage in a letter from Vanderkemp: "I then returned to the Caffres, and said, *Jesús Christus intakha Tiko Inkoeffi eal izoulou. Dia khou theta aule. Lo khounika invoula: mina kosfleive.* 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is King of Heaven. I'll speak to him; it is he who shall give rain: I cannot.' "

innani, a little; **khaka**, thick milk. Many of his phonetic observations are remarkably sound, as for instance the recording of aspiration in **ph**.

The lengthy vocabulary, Vanderkemp divided into various sections: Names of animals and their parts (over 100 entries); Mankind (abt. 80); Celestial bodies and phenomena, Terrestrial objects, Vegetables, Food, House and Utensils, Dress, Diseases, Qualities; Adjectives (37); Verbs (100); Pronouns and various other parts of speech. In all almost 600 words are included. Added to this is a section giving about 90 useful phrases, most of which are readily recognizable, though a few incorrect.

Heinrich Lichtenstein was the next to record Xhosa. His important contribution to comparative Bantu studies will be considered later;⁵ meanwhile we would note here that he devotes a considerable appendix in his book of travels⁶ to "Remarks upon the Language of the Koossas, accompanied by a Vocabulary of their Words."⁷ In this he discusses the pronunciation of Xhosa sounds, indicating the clicks "by the numbers 1, 2, 3, over the syllable which is so pronounced," as he had done in his records of Hottentot. He comes to the conclusion that Xhosa derived the clicks from the "Gonaqua" Hottentot language. His study of Xhosa had been by no means superficial, since he remarks, for instance, "The simple, abstract proposition *I am* cannot be expressed in their language. In a circumstance to be related, it is sufficient to put the personal pronoun to the word descriptive of the circumstance, without any intermediate verb." This in 1806; and Bantu grammarians of today still often devote a whole chapter to the verb "to be"! For much of the information contained in his vocabulary Lichtenstein acknowledged his indebtedness to the missionary Vanderkemp who was in Cape Town in 1805. He complained of the

lack of information on the "Caffre language" to be found in the works of Alberti, Sparrman, Le Vaillant and Barrow, and added, "I have endeavoured to exculpate my work from being liable to the same observation." He then adds a very considerable vocabulary divided into personal and relationship terms, parts of the body, beasts (55 terms), birds (17), reptiles and insects (28), parts of animals, trees and plants (33), things relating to earth and heavens, dwellings and furniture, clothing and food, names and titles, diseases, adjectives (i.e. the equivalents of about 50 English adjectives), verbs (90), pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, interjections and numerals. Throughout are interspersed pertinent and valuable grammatical notes. To the vocabulary is added a list of phrases, "Specimens of their Modes of speaking." Though there are faults of recording to be found, Lichtenstein's is the best traveller's vocabulary of this period.

In addition to certain notes on Nama and Korana Hottentot, **Campbell** included a list of seventy-four "Caffre" words in an appendix⁸ to his *Travels* (1815). His spelling is very strange, for instance **ubusuku** appears as **upsough**, but most of the entries can be recognized.

George Thompson includes a section on the Language of the "Caffers" in the Appendix to his *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa*,⁹ published in 1827. This time it is not a vocabulary, but includes some eight tenses of the verb **ukubiza** with interrogative and negative forms added—all written in conjunctive fashion. The initial nasal of the first person singular is omitted, as was done later by a number of Xhosa grammarians, and implosive **b** of the 1st Class plural concord is interpreted as **p**. The Lord's prayer in Xhosa is added, as is also "Sicana's" hymn in a footnote. Despite inaccuracies this is a very interesting note.

A year before Boyce published his Xhosa

⁵When fuller details as to his career will also be given. We are not concerned here with his contribution to our knowledge of Hottentot either.

⁶*Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*; cf. Vol. I of the Van Riebeeck Society's edition of 1930.

⁷See also his Tswana contribution on page 4.

⁸*Travels in South Africa*, by John Campbell. Appendix VII, page 561.

⁹pp. 456-458.

Grammar, appeared an article in the *S.A. Quarterly Journal*¹⁰ entitled "An Account of the Amakosae," written by one, **Nathaniel Morgan**, assistant surgeon to the Frontier Forces at the Cape, in which he gives a very detailed description of Xhosa sounds. He states that it is an "account of the letters used, and the klick and sounds as described by the Missionaries." A full alphabet is given, and, though there are some obvious mistakes, his descriptions shew careful observation; for instance: "X. denotes the lingual klick. This klick is produced on the right side of the mouth by a gentle motion of the edge of the tongue, somewhat analagous to the klicking of some persons when wishing a horse to bestir himself." He records the shifting forward of penultimate accent and the syllabic quality of **m**.

The missionary **Stephen Kay** in his *Travels and Researches in Caffraria* published in 1833 included the "Lord's Prayer" in "Kaffer," remarking that "many of the Natives have committed it to memory," and the verse of one of their favourite hymns, commencing **Vula inkliziyo zetu**. After quoting Barrow regarding the high status of the language, Kay illustrates the extreme flexibility of Xhosa by quoting examples from the verb conjugation. Here very strangely he records the first class plural concord as **pa-**, though elsewhere he interprets implosive **b** as **b**. The 1st person singular concord is **di-** when initial (as was the common interpretation at that time), and he has recorded negative and subjunctive forms incorrectly, e.g. **andibiza** and **mandibiza** respectively. His general conclusions regarding Xhosa structure are culled from an article by Boyce, whom he quotes.¹¹

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Professor Carl Meinhof published¹² in 1908 the manuscript of a French-Makua Vocabulary found in the Library of the Seminar für

Orientalische Sprachen at Berlin. This bore the title "Vocabulaire français et Maquoua, ou Recueil de quelques mots de la langue Maquoua. Par ordre Alphabétique. Commencé en Novembre 1790." Elsewhere it contained the name of **Charles Mylius**, who was probably the author. The vocabulary contained just on 600 words, which Meinhof has carefully edited with comparisons particularly with the vocabularies of Bleek and Maples. It comprises a very interesting and valuable collection, and, as Meinhof remarks, "practically represents the Tugulu dialect illustrated by Rankin."

* * *

The earliest vocabulary of Tswana is due to **Lichtenstein**.¹³ This he treated as he had the Xhosa vocabulary, remarking in a note "Upon the Language of the Beetjuans": "Although this has already been mentioned as a dialect of the Koossa language, and that there is a striking resemblance in the radical words of both, yet the same differences are to be found as between two dialects of any European language. . . The snorting of the Hottentots does not prevail among the Beetjuans." In this case his vocabulary was "collected from the mouths of the Beetjuans themselves."

John Campbell in 1815 recorded some "Bootchuana Words" in his "Account of Countries beyond Lattakoo, received from Matebe and Others."¹⁴ These comprise about eighty entries of common terms and numerals, of little philological value.

W. J. Burchell (1781-1863), writing in 1824¹⁵ shows what a confused idea a Bantu language presented to a traveller who had not grasped the "key" of the alliterative concord. For instance he states: "It would appear either that this people's love of euphony or smoothness of sound, induces them, as before noticed, very frequently to sacrifice grammatical precision; or that this

¹⁰2nd Series, No. 1, Part 3, October-December, 1833.

¹¹For instance he quotes *in extenso* the contents of a letter of Boyce's in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* (September, 1832), cf. footnote ³³ p. 8.

¹²In the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Jahrgang XI, 1908, pp. 117-131.

¹³See Appendix 2 to his *Travels*, in Vol. II of the Van Riebeeck Society's edition of 1930.

¹⁴In his *Travels in South Africa*, pp. 304 and 306.

¹⁵See his "Specimen of the Sichuan language" given in Volume II of his *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*.

language possesses a variety of inflections which follow perhaps no rule but that of present custom. Various unconnected particles, perhaps unexampled in other languages, intervene between words; if these particles are not to be considered either as terminations or as prefixes. The plural numbers of nouns are very frequently formed in a manner which appears reducible to no general form; and in substituting one letter for another, great licences are taken." He then gives a vocabulary of words and especially phrases in Tswana-English, which, when the strangeness of their orthography is surmounted, are fairly reliable. Burchell seemed to be more interested in the sentence structure and the pronunciation of Tswana than in recording mere instances of vocabulary. Elsewhere¹⁶ he gives a "note for the correct reading of Sichuana words," even recording the feature of aspiration—"the **ph** is merely a **p** followed by a strong aspiration, but is never as an **f**." In another place¹⁷ Burchell takes considerable trouble over a discussion of orthography, making a strong plea for more care in recording place names. "It is conceived," he observes, "to be an indispensable part of a traveller's duty, when making known the names and words of an oral language, to mark at least the accented syllable, for the use of those who can have no other means of becoming acquainted with it."

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In 1800 Captain William White published a short vocabulary¹⁸ collected at Delagoa Bay. The words are recorded in a very strange orthography¹⁹ and a number cannot be verified; those that are identified correspond to the Ronga dialect of Shangana-Tsonga.

In 1835, however, a much bigger "Delagoa Vocabulary" was published by another sea-captain, Thomas Boteler, R.N.²⁰ Boteler

was most conscientious in his attempt at recording, but the results he achieved amply justify the subsequent growth of the science of phonetics in dealing with the recording of hitherto unstudied Native languages. He wrote: "In preparing this vocabulary I have been particularly careful to note down correctly the true pronunciation of the words, and to ascertain that they were properly applied, by repeatedly referring back to them. . . . As the letter **a** is by some pronounced **ah**, I have, when it is to be used in the latter way, prefixed (*sic*) an **h** to it. **Ohn** is adopted instead of **one**, in bone, etc., to show that the **e** should not be separately sounded. When **eye** is used, it is intended to convey such a pronunciation as if, in the word **yes**, the **s** was dropped and the **ye** quickly expressed." The result of Boteler's orthographic system is seen in such words as **bāzhāsmāhwōōnyeh** (aunt), **mōnohncoolo** (big man), **schee wōnēywōnēy** (looking-glass), **wāhtrōngallāhlah** (proud), or **wane oniey glahnahnong?** (are you hungry?); and it takes some time to discover that one is dealing with Bantu words and not Malagasy!

* * *

An officer of the French marine, L. **Degrandpré** included a short vocabulary of Kongo in his book of travels²¹ published in 1801. This list contained about 120 of the commoner words.

Captain J. K. Tuckey, R.N., in charge of the ill-fated expedition to explore the Congo River in 1816, collected some useful vocabularies of the "Malemba" and "Em-bomma" languages, covering some 500 English words. These vocabularies represented the dialects of the Cabinda district and Boma respectively. Tuckey's recording shows an odd, inconsistent mixture of the English and Portuguese spelling methods of his day, as for instance **Wenda quakoo** for **wenda kwaku** (go home).

¹⁶*ibid.*, p. 296.

¹⁷*ibid.*, pp. 307-309.

¹⁸About 140 words in his *Journal of a Voyage performed in the Lion Extra Indiaman, from Madras to Colombo, and Da Lagoa Bay, on the Eastern Coast of Africa; in the Year 1798*.

¹⁹For instance: **gulloway** (pig), **ehooco** (fowl), **monhee** (man), **bhootanganou** (joint) for **buthlangano**; and the numerals: **1 chingeā**, **2 seberey**, **3 trirarou**, **4 moonaw**, etc.

²⁰In his *Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia, from 1821-1826*.

²¹*Voyage à la Côte occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années 1786 et 1787*, pp. 156-162.

In 1832 **J. B. Douville** published a comparative vocabulary list of about 170 words in "Français-Mogialoua-Abunda-Congo," in his *Voyage au Congo*, etc., describing his journeys during 1828, 1829 and 1830. "Mogialoua" represents a dialect of Ndongo. The recordings are recognizable but in many cases the words are cut short, prefixes often being omitted.

* * *

About 1778 **William Marsden**, the orientalist, wrote down, from the dictation of a Negro slave in Sumatra, a vocabulary of the Makua language of Moçambique, for purposes of comparison. He was an authority on the Malay language, but he became interested in African philology and handed his vocabulary to the Tuckey expedition. His work is more that of a philologist, and he should be numbered among the precursors of Bleek.

Henry Salt (1780-1827), artist and British diplomat in East Africa, in his *A Voyage to Abyssinia and into the interior of that Country in the years 1809 and 1810*, included certain vocabularies in an appendix to his work (published in 1814). Salt was a most unscientific recorder of linguistic material, but his vocabularies must be mentioned here, as his was the first record we have of certain Bantu languages. He gave sixty-six words in "Makooa" (Makua) and "Monjou" (Yao), twenty-one words from "some sailors attached to an Arab boat, who called themselves Sowauli, which appears to be quite a distinct people from the Somauli." This is of course Swahili. He says the people "are sometimes called Sowaiel by their northern neighbours the Somauli," and added a further seven words from that source, which he states correctly are "more corrupted." He included "a few words of the Mutshuana (Tswana) Language, copied from a manuscript by Mr Cowan." There are twenty-one entries under this heading; after which he added the ten numerals in "Briqua" from the same source. The orthography used by Salt (and by Cowan) is very weird. For "sea" in

Tswana he records **meetzeeabouseeko**, i.e. **metse abosigo** (water of night); for "father" in Swahili he has **babbe-ákoo**, i.e. **baba wako** (thy father); in the Yao list he has **too wen de** for **twende** "let us go away." Most of his words, however, can be recognized.

* * *

William Elliott (1792-1858) was a teacher connected with Dr John Philip's work at Cape Town. He went as a missionary of the London Missionary Society to Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, in 1821, but left after thirteen months' residence owing to opposition and ill-treatment, and resumed missionary work at Cape Town. Elliott studied Arabic specially to help him in his contact with the Arabs and Comoro Natives; he connected "Joanna" with "Sawahil," but considered the latter a superior language. During 1821 and 1822 Elliott prepared a manuscript "Grammar and Vocabulary of the Hinzuan Language," which is to be found in the Grey Collection of the South African Library at Cape Town.²²

In this MS. grammar he showed considerable skill in the discussion of orthography, proposing several modifications of Arabic letters, borrowed from Persian and Malay script, to meet the special needs; he set out a detailed "Joannese Alphabet."

His observations on the construction of the language are rather scrappy. He does not really recognize the noun classes, but sets out certain ways of forming the plurals "by changing the first syllable of particles in the sing.," etc. Both "gender" and "declensions" are treated of in non-Bantu style. He makes direct reference to concord when he states: "I think I am warranted in supposing that adjectives purely Joannese, and those of Sáwáhil origin admit of inflexions indicative of their concordance in form with their substantives, while those derived from Arabic suffer no change under any circumstances. The concordance of the declinable adjectives

²²This MS. was published by M. Heepe in an article entitled "Darstellung einer Bantusprache aus den Jahren 1821-1822 von Elliott", in the *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, 1926, XXIX, 3 Abt., pp. 191-232. Heepe added considerable information concerning Elliott and his Comoro experiences.

with their substantives is purely euphonic, having no regard to number, case, or gender."

The verb is very inadequately dealt with. Elliott observes: "I have not been able to discover the means by which the distinctions of the past into imperfect, perfect and pluperfect or those of the future into imperfect and perfect are determined, nor have my observations on the conditional and optative moods been at all satisfactory." This shows that he was researching with a prepared bias. Actually he records three tenses, past, present and future in active and passive "voices", but he explains the negative formation.

His grammatical work, however, is enriched by ninety-eight illustrative sentences of considerable value, and followed by an English-Nzwani vocabulary of about 900 words.

Elliott was painstaking and a real student: he studied and used Arabic for his missionary work, and was prepared to work in Swahili if required. It is a great pity that his stay on the Islands was cut short, or he would probably have done good linguistic work.

II

NINETEENTH CENTURY GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICOGRAPHICAL WORK BEFORE 1860.

In this new era of research, up to 1860, three Bantu areas were affected: the Southern area, mainly concerning Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana, in which the outstanding name was that of Appleyard; the North-western area of Mpongwe, Duala, etc., remarkable especially for the work of Saker; and the North-eastern area, where Krapf did his work in Swahili and allied tongues.

(A) SOUTHERN AREA

The first language brought to our notice in

²³The term "Kafir" is an Arabic word meaning "infidel". It seems to have been once applied indiscriminately to all the black population of Africa, but it came to denote particularly the Xhosa and kindred tribes. Their language also was called "Kafir"; but recently, owing to the fact that it implies a reproach, this name has given place to Xhosa, a term properly applying to one tribe only.

²⁴See Robert Godfrey's article "Rev. John Bennie, the Father of Kafir Literature", in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 1934, pp. 123-134.

²⁵There is a copy of this in the Grey Library at Cape Town.

²⁶Now in the keeping of his grandson Mr W. G. Bennie.

²⁷Where he writes (*The Kafir Language*, p. 95): "In addition to the accent, some words are further distinguished by a peculiar intonation given to them in the act of enunciation. This, however, is only observable in those words which are similar in form, but not in sense. Thus *itanga*, *hlanza*, *umkombe*, etc., express two or three different ideas, according to the particular mode of their pronunciation."

this period is Xhosa, called at that time and for long afterwards "Kafir."²³ Probably the earliest serious student of Xhosa was John Bennie, "The Father of Kafir Literature."²⁴ "On 18th November, 1824, he reported to his Presbytery his design of entering upon the compilation of an extended and systematic vocabulary of the Kafir language." In 1826 appeared *A Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language in two parts; to which is prefixed an introduction to Kaffrarian Grammar*.²⁵ This was printed at the Glasgow Mission Press, Lovedale ("eTyume"). The grammatical portion (12 pages) deals mainly with pronunciation; the vocabulary is 92 pages. Bennie further left a MS. grammar, dated 1832,²⁶ two years before the date of the first printed Xhosa Grammar. This is an elaborate treatise on the alphabet and syllables, followed by detailed discussions on the noun, the adjective, the numeral, the pronoun and the verb. Over and over again Bennie seems to be on the point of discovering the alliterative concord, but he never actually hits on it; and without this key to unlock the secret of Xhosa, he labours at unnecessary length in his rules and exceptions. In spite of this, he anticipates much that is embodied in later grammars and notes some things not to be found there. Bennie makes a significant allusion to the existence of semantic tone in Xhosa when he writes: "The rising or the falling inflexion of the accent gives to words, which correspond in letters, a different signification: *bona*, see, they; *umnyama*, dark, the rainbow; *tiya*, snare, hate." This phenomenon was unpublished in Xhosa until Appleyard referred to it in his 1850 Grammar,²⁷ and then passed unnoticed until Godfrey and McLaren mentioned it in 1915 and 1917 respectively. Bennie was the first to use the term "class" in

connection with the nouns, his classes originally numbering fourteen. Bennie also left manuscript portions of a Kafir-English Dictionary and an English-Kafir Dictionary, large numbers of words from which were incorporated in the 2nd edition of Kropf's *Dictionary* in 1915.

Probably Bennie's Xhosa Reading sheet,²⁸ printed at Gwali in 1823 is the oldest piece of printed continuous Xhosa known. Bennie also published a small hymn book in 1839 (enlarged in 1841),²⁹ the printing being done by Aldum and Harvey in Grahamstown. The same printers produced a first and second Xhosa reader in 1839,³⁰ stated to be Bennie's. These became the basis of the "Lovedale Kafir Readers," which have been used for nigh a hundred years, and are still in demand in certain quarters. An earlier reader printed "eTyume" in 1824³¹ is also almost certainly attributable to John Bennie.

John Bennie was born in or near Glasgow in 1795, and became a Missionary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. He came to South Africa in 1821, and was one of the pioneers of his Society among Gaika's people in Kaffirland. In 1824, in co-operation with the Rev. John Ross he founded a new Mission three miles from the Tyumie River and called it Lovedale after Dr John Love, Secretary of the Mission. Bennie suffered in the Kafir Wars. Three times his house was burnt and he and his family had to flee. In 1850, through the ill-health of his wife, he left Kaffirland and went to the District of Graaff-Reinet, and in 1853 to Middelburg where he laboured as teacher and missionary to the Native and Coloured people. He died in February, 1869.

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The first published grammar of a Bantu language in South Africa goes to the credit of **William A. Boyce**, of the Wesleyan Mission. Boyce's *Grammar of the Kafir Language* was printed in quarto at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Grahamstown in 1834. It contains 54 pages. Boyce was the discoverer of the alliterative concord in Xhosa, "the key to the etymological structure of the language," as Davis termed it. Boyce wrote:³⁰ "The Kafir Language is distinguished by one peculiarity which immediately strikes a student whose views of language have been formed upon the examples afforded by the inflected languages of Ancient and Modern Europe: with the exception of a change of termination in the Ablative³¹ case of the Noun, and five changes of which the verb is susceptible³² in its principal tenses, the whole business of declension, conjugation, etc. is carried on by prefixes, and by the changes which take place in the initial letters or syllables of words subject to Grammatical government: as these changes in addition to the precision they communicate to the Language promote its Euphony and cause the frequent repetition (*sic*) of the same letter as initial to many words in a sentence, this peculiarity upon which the whole Grammar of the Language depends has been termed the Euphonic or Alliteral Concord."³³

The author outlines a rather strange distinction of nouns, dividing them into those of the "Personal Gender" and those of the "Neuter Gender"—a division suggestive but inaccurate in detail, and then proceeds: "Nouns may be divided into twelve Classes or Declensions eight of which comprise the singular prefixes, and four those of the plural. I. Declension contains Nouns of the Personal

²⁸Reproduced in *Bantu Studies*, frontispiece to Vol. 8, No. 2, 1934.

²⁹Copies of all these publications are in the Grey Collection, South African Library, Cape Town.

³⁰Page 3 of his First Edition.

³¹i.e. the Locative.

³²i.e. Objective, Causative, Reflective, Reciprocal and Intensive forms, see p. 21.

³³This was not the first occasion upon which Boyce had made known these conclusions regarding Xhosa. In a letter dated March 31st, 1832 (published in the *Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* for September, 1832, page 664) he wrote: "The main difficulty, which I think no adult European will ever master . . . lies in a peculiarity of the language, which may be termed the euphonic or alliterative concord. One principal word in a sentence governs the initial letters or syllables of the other words: this is independent of any grammatical concord, or variety of inflexion. Thus in speaking the language, the following points must be ascertained in order to insure correctness;—first, the principal or governing word in a sentence; second, the principal letter in that word, to the sound of which the initial letters or syllables of the other words must be assimilated; third, the changes which must be made in the initial letters or syllables of the word which is governed by this euphonic concord; fourth, the words which remain uninfluenced by this euphonic concord."

Gender beginning with the prefixes U and UM. Nouns of this Declension take W for their Euphonic Letter. . . ." Throughout the various editions of his work Boyce preferred the term "declension" to "class"; later Davis replaced this by "species", following Appleyard's example.

Boyce's *Grammar* provided a good outline, giving a clear exposition of relative construction and a remarkably full treatment of the verb occupying over 30 pages; in this his terminology for derivative forms, moods and other parts was far-seeing, most of his terms standing unchanged today. In a lengthy introduction to Archbell's *Grammar of the Bechuana Language*, repeated in the second edition of Boyce's work, is a real contribution to Comparative Bantu studies, from the pen of Boyce, and of this more will be said later when dealing with the history of Comparative studies. Suffice it to say that Boyce sums up their then knowledge of South African languages showing the connection of the "Kaffir" and "Sechuana" with the languages of the Congo and Angola and those of the East Coast. This work was a foundation upon which Appleyard built.

Boyce had arrived in South Africa in 1830, and was first helped in the language by Theo. Shepstone, but did not remain long in Africa, or no doubt we should have had more evidence of his linguistic ability. In 1845 he became General Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in Australia and Van Diemen's Land, and later one of the General Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England.

* * *

In 1844 was published a second edition of Boyce's *Grammar*, "augmented and improved with vocabulary and exercises by **William J. Davis**, Wesleyan Missionary." The advertisement to this second edition reads: "When the Rev. William J. Davis was about to visit England in the year 1839, he was requested to superintend the printing and publication of a new edition of the Rev. William Boyce's Kaffir Grammar. That office of friendship he performed in a manner

highly creditable to himself, and introduced, in various portions of the work, some important improvements; which would have been still more ample, had not his brief sojourn in this country prevented the completion of his wishes. After his return to Africa, he transmitted for insertion the 'Analytical Compendium of Kaffir Grammar,' in three Synoptical Tables, with explanatory notes, which are now prefixed to the Grammar, and which will convey to the reader a clear view of the peculiar genius and curious construction of this ancient and very refined language." Evidently certain advance copies of the major portion of this edition were struck off as early as 1839, for they were in the hands of the Mission band which returned to Africa with Davis in that year, and he used them for language lessons on board ship. This edition also includes the introduction³⁴ written by Boyce to Archbell's *Grammar of the Bechuana Language*. With its vocabulary, phrase-book, exercises and other additions, it comprised 228 pages, a big advance on the first edition.

In 1863 Davis brought out a third edition, further augmented and improved. Boyce's interest in this is evidenced by a note referring to Appleyard's "valuable grammar . . . a work essential to the study of African philology," dated 1863 and signed "W.B.B." This edition omitted the vocabulary and phrase section, but still did not record the initial nasal consonant in compounds, writing, for instance, **Di bendi tanda** for **ndibē ndithanda**. It was a compact little work nevertheless.

In 1872 W. J. Davis took full responsibility for the *Grammar of the Kaffir Language* in what is really a complete recasting of the earlier work. This edition long held the field for students of Xhosa. It rectifies many of the blemishes and omissions of the earlier work. Much of Boyce's introduction is quoted, and Davis's debt to both Boyce and Appleyard acknowledged. Appleyard's *Grammar* he characterized as "elaborate and exhaustive . . . very valuable to the advanced student of African Philology; but . . . somewhat too erudite in its character to facilitate

³⁴Slightly modified in its references in places.

the ready acquirement of the elementary principles of the language by one who is commencing its study." Davis's work was plainly intended for the practical purposes of the learner.

Davis was the author of the first real *Dictionary of the Kaffir Language* in 1872, and published an *English and Kaffir Dictionary* in 1877. Of these works more will be said later; they fall considerably outside the period we are at present studying.

William Jefford Davis was born in Salisbury in 1810 and died in Grahamstown in 1883 after fifty-one years in the ministry. In 1831 he was appointed by the Wesleyan Conference to work in "Kaffirland", and his ready acquisition of the language fitted him for his valuable service in connection with the formation of a Native literature. He laboured as a Missionary until his retirement in 1876.

* * *

In 1837³⁵ the Wesleyan Missionary **James Archbell** published at Grahamstown the first Tswana Grammar—*A Grammar of the Bechuana Language*, with a lengthy introduction by W. B. Boyce.³⁶ Little need be said of Archbell's contribution, as section by section (almost word for word) it is based on Boyce's *Grammar* which acted as more than his model. One peculiar innovation which Archbell made was a division of number into singular, dual and plural. For instance he writes:³⁷ "The national name is peculiar, as singular, Mochuana; dual, Bechuana; plural, Bichuana;" and: "Nouns, whose initials are **a, c, g, k, n, p, t** and **z**, form their duals by prefixing **li**, and their plurals by prefixing **ma**; as **atsi, liatsi, maatsi**, etc." His recognition of **ma-** as prefix indicating the quantitative plural is probably responsible for this last. Needless to say there is no dual in Tswana. Archbell confesses³⁸ to altering the orthography employed by the L.M.S. missionaries to assimilate to that "employed

in Kaffirland by the Missionaries of the Glasgow and Wesleyan Societies."

Archbell had reached South Africa in 1819. He was first stationed in Namaqualand, whence he made a long journey to "Walvich Bay." Later he settled among the Bechuana at Thaba Nchu. Archbell accompanied the British military expedition to Natal in 1842, and became the first Christian Missionary in Natal.

* * *

In 1841 **Eugène Casalis**, one of the three pioneers, Arbousset, Casalis and Gossellin, of the Société des Missions Evangéliques de Paris, who reached Thaba Bosiu, Basutoland on 28th June, 1833, published in Paris his *Etudes sur la Langue Séchuana*. Jacottet³⁹ considers this work to be a grammar of Southern Sotho and not Tswana, but of this Lestrade⁴⁰ says, "As a matter of fact, it is not easy to tell, on account of the spelling and the mixture of forms. Evidently it represents the dialect of the people round Thaba Nthšo, who were then, as they are now, BaTswana (BaRolong), but whose language is much interspersed with Southern Sotho elements."

Casalis's "Studies" is really made up of three parts, first a long introduction of some 60 pages dealing with the progress of the Mission; then the grammatical section—all too short—of 51 pages; and lastly 52 pages entitled "Poésies des Bassoutos" in which praises, proverbs and folk-tales are given, unfortunately only in French translation. At the moment we are interested in the grammatical section. Casalis commences with some comparative vocabulary observations in which, like many missionaries of that period, he draws comparison with Hebrew. His treatment of the noun (less than twenty-five lines) is most inadequate. In this, however, he does make some positive statements of value: "Le nom est composé d'une préfixe variable et de radicales;" and "Le nom ne se

³⁵Such is the date on the title-page, but page 82 bears the date 1838.

³⁶Which introduction was repeated in the second edition of Boyce's *Xhosa Grammar*.

³⁷p. 10.

³⁸p. 4.

³⁹*A Grammar of the Sesuto Language*.

⁴⁰In his "Bibliography of Tswana," *Bantu Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 77.

décline pas." Despite this latter statement he says: "Le pronom personnel se décline," and proceeds to give five cases throughout. Casalis's treatment of the verb (covering some 25 pages) is in reality extremely brief, for he repeats all his tenses needlessly for each of the derivative forms of the verb. In the indicative he gives five tenses, to which he adds the imperative, subjunctive, conditional (2 tenses), infinitive and participle,—in all some eleven tense forms. Evidently Casalis had not seen Archbell's work, in which some 25 positive and 22 negative tenses in the ordinary conjugation had been given. Casalis does not hint at a negative conjugation; all he says in regard to the negative is in par. 21 of his section on Syntax, as follows: "Les négations *ne*, *ne pas* s'expriment par les particules **sa**, **ga**, **si**, qui n'ont aucune affinité avec les adverbes de négation **che** et **nia**, **non**. La particule **sa** se place entre le pronom et le verbe: **Ki SA bone**; "je *ne* vois pas;" la particule **ga** se met devant le pronom: **GA ki bone**; **si** est particulièrement consacré à la défense: **U SI ame**, "ne touche pas." Ces négations changent la voyelle finale du verbe (**a**) en **e**."

Casalis's few notes on syntax (pp. 42–51) constitute an advance on Archbell. Despite the extreme brevity of this grammatical work, Casalis's observations are reliable, and shew that he was more of a grammarian than Archbell, whose whole inspiration came from Boyce. Casalis, however, had not the grammatical bent of Boyce. Both Archbell and Casalis distinguished the 2nd person singular of the verb from the singular of the first class by a change of vowel (**u** and **o**) instead of tone-marking, an erroneous distinction persisting in Sotho today.

Casalis, who remained in Basutoland till 1855, when he was recalled to Paris to become Director of the Paris Missionary Society, is better known to the public from his famous

ethnographic monograph *Les Bassoutos*, published in 1859, and still a standard work. After retirement from the directorship, Casalis lived to a ripe old age dying in the year 1891.

* * *

In addition to the collection of a number of Bantu vocabularies in manuscript,⁴¹ David Livingstone was responsible for the third grammatical work on Tswana, an *Analysis of the Language of the Bechuanas*. This 40-page quarto publication⁴² was printed "for private circulation among the members of Livingstone's Zambesi expedition, with a view to imparting a general idea of the structure of South African languages." It was originally written in 1852, but published in 1858. This provides a careful and accurate account of the language. Three pages are devoted to pronunciation; and in his description of the sounds Livingstone reveals his own Scotch pronunciation when he writes: "é, with acute accent, as in clergy, friend, lemon." He divides the nouns into three classes, (1) those which assume **li** in the plural, (2) those with singular prefixes **bo**, **le**, **lo**, **se** and plurals in **ma** and **li**, and (3) those with singular prefixes **mo**, etc. and plural prefixes in **ba** or **me**. Verbal derivatives he terms "conjugations", following the precedent of Hebrew in contradistinction to Latin or Greek, but does not give them names, merely supplying the translations.⁴³

* * *

There was published in 1846 an admirable little *Vocabulary of the Kafir Language*, by John Ayliff, Wesleyan Missionary in Kaffraria. As a matter of fact Ayliff completed this work as early as 1843, the date of his brief "Introduction." This vocabulary of English-Xhosa is a sound piece of work, and contains about 4000 English words with care-

⁴¹Some are in the Grey Collection at Cape Town, e.g. a manuscript "Dictionary of the Barotse, Tete, etc. languages", 132 pp.; and "An alphabetical Vocabulary of the various Tsuana dialects", pp. 258 (from 214 on it is a polyglottic comparison of "Bakhoba, Bashubea, Baloyazi, Bamaponda, Barotse, Batoka, Banyenko, Bechuana and English").

⁴²A copy in the Gubbins Library in the University of the Witwatersrand has written on the title page in Livingstone's hand: "Only 25 copies printed. . . Shew it to any one . . . interested in these . . . We sail tomorrow . . . 8th March 1858." The copy was damaged in the University fire of 1931, and part of the wording is missing.

⁴³An appreciative account of this publication was written by A. Sandilands in the *Tiger Kloof Magazine*, No. 22, Dec. 1940, under the mistaken title of "The First Setswana Grammar."

ful Xhosa equivalents, many words being illustrated by lengthy idiomatic translations containing them. The advent of this publication marked a tremendous advance upon any vocabulary work in a Bantu language hitherto published, and would be a credit if published today. Ayliff records the **Hlonipha** language of the women, and gives certain examples of it. Regarding the orthography, in the manner of the day, the initial nasal in compounds was omitted as in **gokuhiliza** for **ngokuhiliza**, **dim** for **ndim**; the mistake of **ihashé** for **ihashi** (**ihafí**) was made as early as this; **ukudla** is given as **ukujla**; duplication of nasal is made in such words as **inncwadi**.⁴⁴

Ayliff, after having experienced all the rigours of the Kafir Wars, died in 1862.

* * *

The South African Christian Watchman, and Missionary Magazine for 1847 contained a series of articles on South African Languages: No. 1 (April) "Hottentot Dialects"; No. 11 (May) "Hottentot Grammar—Bushman Dialects"; No. 111 (June) "Euphonic Concord—General Remarks"; No. IV (July) "The Congo and Damara Dialects"; No. V (August) "The Sechuana Dialects"; No. VI (September) "The Kaffir Dialects"; and No. VII (October) "Unclassified Dialects of the Alliteral Class." The last of these contributions is signed with the initials J.W.A., indicating that they came from the pen of the Wesleyan Missionary, **J. W. Appleyard**, who had then been in South Africa some six years. These notes reveal a good grip of the language position and of the comparative study of language in South Africa. It is evident that these articles were a stimulus to Lewis Grout and formed the basis of his paper "The Zulu and other Dialects of Southern Africa," which was published in America in 1849.

In 1850 Appleyard produced *The Kafir Language: comprising a sketch of its History; remarks upon its Nature and a Grammar*.

⁴⁴A second edition was published in 1863.

⁴⁵i.e. Hluši.

⁴⁶pp. 51 *et seq.* In this, however, Appleyard had insufficient material on which to base his conclusions; hence his results do not rank in value with those of Bleek in 1862.

⁴⁷Footnote to page 67.

This is a most important publication for several reasons. Appleyard, incorporating his previous articles, classifies the "South African dialects" under two main heads: the "click class" and the "alliteral class." In the former he places two "families": the Hottentot and the Bushman. Considerable space is given to a discussion of these, and a very important inclusion is a "Hottentot Grammar in the Korana Dialect" furnished by the missionary C. F. Wuras. The "alliteral class" (later known as Bantu) was divided by Appleyard into four families: Congo, Damara, Sechuana and Kafir. He was discriminating in classifying Sotho under "Sechuana," which is certainly the older form. With remarkable clearness of vision, he divided "the Kafir family" into (1) "the Kafir branch spoken by the Amaxosa, or Kafir proper," (2) "the Zulu branch," with dialects of Natal and of "the people of Umzelekazi," and (3) "the Fingoe branch" including the "Amafengu," the "Amabaca," the "Matabele"⁴⁵ living in the neighbourhood of the Caledon River, the "Amaswazi," as well as certain other tribes living to the south of the Swazi. In his comparative study Appleyard anticipated the later work of Bleek and Meinhof in giving certain tables of vowel and consonantal changes,⁴⁶ illustrating the sound-shiftings between "Sechuana" and "Kafir." This comparative work, though really unexpected in a book on Xhosa Grammar, is of considerable merit as a pioneering effort.

After devoting 64 pages to this preliminary work the remainder of the book—a further 300 pages—is devoted to the grammatical study of Xhosa. In discussing the grammatical formations, Appleyard appends a pertinent footnote condemning disjunctive writing as it had then already begun to be used in Tswana. He writes:⁴⁷

"The principle of formation does not appear to be sufficiently acknowledged, in the present system of the Sechuana orthography. Take, for instance, the *re*-fixes of verbs. These are all written

separately from the root, as though they constituted independent pronouns; yet they are never used as such, any more than are the corresponding person-endings in the case of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew verbs. To write, **ki rata**, **u rata**, **o rata**, etc., is just as objectionable, as it would be to write, *ame m*, *ame s*, *ame t*, etc., or *lamad ti*, *lamad ta*, etc. Such a splitting up of words as here implied, seems to contravene all just notions of the province of orthography. As usually considered, the true orthography of a language depends upon the proper recognition of words, as they exist in their formed or complete state, and not simply upon the knowledge of their separate and constituent parts. However useful and necessary this latter may be, in teaching the origin and derivation of words, *its exhibition* belongs not to orthography, but to the dictionary and grammar."

Appleyard gives a good exposition of the noun in Xhosa, classifying nouns according to eight "species," following the same order as the eight "declensions" of Boyce's second edition (1844), the order used until McLaren's third edition appeared (1936). Appleyard discards the term "declension" as "not applicable to the nouns of the Kafir language."⁴⁸ In dealing with inflexion of nouns he treats the Locative under three headings (i) "first dative form" with suffix **-eni**, **-ini**, (ii) "second dative form" prefixing **ku-**, and (iii) "locative form" prefixing **kwa-**, a very suggestive differentiation. The copulative or agentive, he terms the "causal form," while the terms "instrumental form" (prefixing **nga-**), "conjunctive form" (prefixing **na-**) and "comparative forms" (prefixing **nga-nga-** and **njenga-**) indicate his philological grip or sane terminology. Elsewhere this sane terminological outlook is evidenced in his remarks upon the "participles,"⁴⁹ the derivation of irregular verbs,⁵⁰ and his general scheme of treatment of the verb. Although

he classifies⁵¹ as prepositions what are undoubtedly adverbs in Xhosa, he adds that they "are also used as adverbs," and avoids the mistake made by McLaren, as late as 1917⁵², of calling certain formatives "prepositions."

The last hundred pages of his grammatical work deal with important points of syntax, idiom and even parsing, in this being in advance of much Bantu work being done today. Altogether Appleyard's Grammar is a masterly piece of work, and deserves to have seen more than the solitary 1850 edition. No later grammar of Xhosa has been any real advance upon it, and some later writers might well have studied Appleyard's work more closely than they did.

But today Appleyard is more remembered for his translation of the Bible into Xhosa, a large section of the Native people and many missionaries still preferring his version to the revised or re-revised which have appeared since. This aspect of his work will be referred to elsewhere.

At the time of its publication the Grammar was rightly acclaimed, and Appleyard's brethren in their Annual District Meeting adopted a resolution in which they expressed their great satisfaction at the issue of the book—"a publication highly creditable to the learning and research of the Author, and which must become the standard Grammar of the language. We thus express ourselves without forgetting the high merits of the Rev. Boyce's Grammar of the language, which was the first publication that supplied the key to the intricacies thereof, by its development of the principles of what its discoverer appropriately called the 'Euphonic Concord.' We confidently recommend Mr. Appleyard's Grammar as, in the main, a correct and philosophical exhibition of the principles and rules which govern this ancient and interesting African language."⁵³

Dr W. H. I. Bleek, too, wrote: "It is almost unnecessary to state that this is a work

⁴⁸Footnote to page 98.

⁴⁹Page 164.

⁵⁰Page 153.

⁵¹Page 267.

⁵²In the second edition of his grammar.

⁵³Thornley Smith: *Memoir of the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard*, 1881, page 61.

of the highest importance and value to South African philology; and it is indeed to be wished that all languages were treated in this comprehensive and accurate manner."⁵⁴

Appleyard (1814-1874) reached South Africa in January, 1840 at the age of twenty-five and, after residing at Salem, Albany Dist., for a while, went to Kafirland. In 1841 he married Miss Archbell. Together they laboured through troublous times, and Appleyard was enabled to continue his work of revising the scriptures to within a few months of his death, after thirty-four years of missionary work.

In 1848 A. F. Pott contributed to the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft*⁵⁵ an article entitled "Verwandtschaftliches Verhältniss der Sprachen vom Kaffer- und Kongo-Stamme unter einander."

* * *

Two early missionaries of the American Board in Natal stand out pre-eminently for their work upon the Zulu language. I refer to James C. Bryant and Lewis Grout.⁵⁶ The name of the latter is familiar to students of Zulu, but that of the former generally unknown.

James C. Bryant became pastor of a church in Littleton, Massachusetts, in 1840, where his ministry was blessed. He felt the call to the Mission field and, despite frail health, sailed from Boston with his wife for Port Natal on April 15th, 1846, reaching the Umlazi Mission after a four months' journey. We read: "Mr. Bryant had so far succeeded in mastering the language, at the end of about ten weeks after his arrival, that he was able to deliver a sermon which was quite intelligible to the Natives."⁵⁷ In September, 1847 he and his wife took up their residence at Ifumi, after spending part of the year at Amanzimtoti. His frailness revealed itself

as tubercular, and he gradually declined in health until he died in the house of the Lindleys on December 23rd, 1850. The report for 1851 remarks that even during his declining months Mr Bryant "made himself highly useful as a translator."

His colleague, Lewis Grout, wrote some four days after his death as follows:⁵⁸

"As a linguist he excelled. For many years and even to the last, he made the Bible in the original a daily study. And from the first of his access to the Zulu language, he gave himself to the acquisition of it with the zeal of a martyr, and probably to the detriment of his health. And his attainments in this tongue would be regarded as by no means moderate; especially, if we consider the state of his health, the time he was spared to pursue it, and the great difficulties with which the study of it is beset. Still he was far from regarding himself as master of the language; and he believed that much observation and study, analysis and generalization, would be necessary for a full understanding and statement of its facts and principles."

"He prepared an elementary arithmetic in Zulu, and a religious tract on the evidences of regeneration. He also wrote several hymns with several articles for a monthly paper, and translated a fourth part of the Psalms, besides criticising the portions assigned to others. He had begun a translation of the Acts of the Apostles when his wasting strength failed; and God called him to converse, face to face, with those blessed spirits whose writings and lives he had so thoroughly studied."

Numerous tributes were paid to Bryant's sterling Christian character, zeal for the Gospel, and the affectionate regard in which he was held;⁵⁹ but all this would give little real indication of what he might have done for Zulu literature had his life been prolonged. Fortunately he put on paper, in March,

⁵⁴*ibid.*, page 51.

⁵⁵Vol. 2, pp. 5-25, 129-158.

⁵⁶The substance of what follows I contributed to *The Missionary Herald*, Boston U.S.A., Vol. CXXXIII, No. 1, January 1937, entitled "Two Zulu Language Pioneers."

⁵⁷*Report of the A.B.C.F.M.*, 1847, page 75.

⁵⁸*The Missionary Herald*, June 1851.

⁵⁹See also Mrs M. W. T. Gray's tribute in her *Stories of the Early American Missionaries in South Africa*, pp. 51, 52.

1848, his ideas upon the Zulu language, and this valuable contribution was published in the *Journal of the Oriental Society* (Vol. I, pp. 383-396) in 1849, under the title of "The Zulu Language." Few people seem to have noticed what, for its size, is one of the most accurate and concise accounts of Zulu ever given.

Bryant arranges the noun in twelve classes, "the class of each noun being determined by its prefix," singular separated from plural. He doubtless derived much from Boyce's previous work in Xhosa,⁶⁰ but showed more of the philological acumen of Appleyard.⁶¹ In word division he followed the disjunctive method in vogue, and strongly recommended comparative study to aid grammatical knowledge. Had Bryant lived, there can be little doubt that he would have written a full Zulu grammar, and become for Zulu what Appleyard was for Xhosa. In fact he, Grout and Posselt were commissioned to undertake such a work, which later fell to the lot of Grout.

* * *

Lewis Grout and his wife sailed from Boston six months later than the Bryants, reached Cape Town on December 7th, 1846, but Port Natal not till February 15th, 1847, by which time; however, so recorded the report for 1847, "Mr. Grout has probably made considerable progress in acquiring the language." This remark seems prophetic; for Lewis Grout became known as "the scholar of the Mission." He and his wife settled at Umsunduzi, where they laboured for fifteen years, and where Grout developed the Mission Press.

It is strange that, just a few days after Bryant wrote his pamphlet, Lewis Grout com-

pleted⁶² a paper entitled "The Zulu and other Dialects of Southern Africa." This was published in 1849, also in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. I, pp. 397-433). Grout mentions a manuscript grammar by Dr Adams,⁶³ and the works of Boyce and Casalis,⁶⁴ as well as his indebtedness to his colleagues and Bishop Schreuder. He observes the same order of noun classes as Bryant, evidently one recognized in the Mission, and very similar to that employed by Schreuder in his grammar. Grout developed a declension system for pronouns, and used the term "case"⁶⁵ as did Bryant. He worked out quite an extensive paradigm of the verb with positive and negative forms. As did Bryant, so Grout wrote **gi**⁶⁶ initially instead of **ngi**. This Grout rectified in 1859. His outline is very good, but seems to lack the conciseness of Bryant's.

The second portion of this pamphlet⁶⁷ is entitled "Classification of Dialects of Southern Africa," and Grout here evidently summarises the published and unpublished results of comparative Bantu study as far as it had gone in his day. His summary is accurate and very well made. This portion of his work is admitted by him to have been "the most authentic and recent information which I have been able to obtain, here and in Cape Colony." He quotes from the *S.A. Christian Watchman and Missionary Magazine* (Grahamstown) for 1847, and evidently Appleyard's articles, already referred to⁶⁸ are the basis of Grout's classification of 1848. In each is the same division of the South African Native languages into "the click class" and "the alliterative class." The latter again is divided in the same way into four sections: "the Zulu, or Kafir; the Sechuan; the Damara; and the Congo." Further, both Grout and Appleyard range "Zulu,

⁶⁰1834 and 1844.

⁶¹Whose articles he had doubtless studied.

⁶²The first part was completed in March 24th, and the second on April 14th, 1848.

⁶³A "brief grammatical outline . . . amounting to some three or four dozen pages in manuscript," which guided him in his early studies. Is it possible that Dr Adams's manuscript is still in existence?

⁶⁴*Etudes sur la langue Séchuana*, 1841.

⁶⁵Declension and case are grammatical terms not applicable properly to Bantu languages.

⁶⁶So did Schreuder in 1850; "Boyce and Davis" in Xhosa wrote **di** for **ndi** as late as 1863, though Appleyard had corrected it in 1850; Colenso's first edition of 1859 had **ngi** correctly recorded.

⁶⁷The last eleven pages.

⁶⁸See page 223.

Kafir and Fingo" as cognate languages of one group. This, however, need not detract from the evident grip of Bantu that Grout had attained in some eighteen months.

On October 14th, 1852 Lewis Grout read a paper before the American Oriental Society, New York, entitled "An Essay on the Phonology and Orthography of the Zulu and kindred Dialects in Southern Africa," which was published in the *Journal* of the Society the next year.⁶⁹ Even in those early days the missionaries were exercised over orthography reforms, and the American Zulu Mission had set up a Committee on Uniform Orthography, on which Grout served. His essay was an analysis of Zulu sounds with proposals for improvement in the representation in writing. In this essay Grout's tendency towards the prolix and the abstruse, which later marred his great grammatical work, began to show itself. He introduced his subject by discussing Pickering's system of orthography as prepared for the North American languages. His treatment of the vowels was extremely verbose, and generally in the phonology his treatment of non-essential detail was marked, while several most important essentials, such as the aspiration of explosives and clicks for instance, were entirely unobserved. Naturally he had not the phonetic equipment possible to the modern student of languages, and what he did observe is deserving of no small praise. As an example of his lack of discrimination of the essentials, note his final summary of the "fundamental sounds in the Zulu language:" "(1) Vowels . . . 10. (2) Diphthongs . . . 4. (3) Consonants and Gutturals . . . 28. (4) Clicks . . . 12. (5) Consonantal Combinations . . . 37. Fundamental sounds, total . . . 91." Grout's explanation of the clicks was similar to that of Döhne, whom he quotes; and in this he wisely states that the voiced and nasal clicks are not compounds but modifications.

Among his proposals for improvement were special signs to take the place of **hl** and **dl**, and the employment of the phonetic symbols for the velar nasal and for **sh!**

He also proposed modified symbols for **j**, **tsh**, **r** and **kl**, as well as modifications of the basic **c**, **q** and **x** by diacritic marks for the voiced and nasal clicks.

While the Committee of publication generally supported Grout's proposals, they added certain criticisms to his article. It was mainly due to the revolutionary nature of Grout's proposals that the disagreement with his brethren began, which later led to his withdrawal from the field. Grout had stated that "we must hold that every fundamental sound in a language should have its own appropriate representative." His exposition of so large a number of "fundamental sounds" in Zulu made his thesis unacceptable.

Of Grout's great and best-known work, I intend to say little—because it is well known, and because its publication was subsequent to Appleyard's great Xhosa work of 1850 and Schreuder's Zulu of 1850, as well as contemporary to Colenso's more modest Zulu grammar. In 1859 Lewis Grout published *The Isizulu: A Grammar of the Zulu Language*. This large work⁷⁰ was printed at Umsunduzi Mission Station and is most creditable to that printing press. A large part of the introduction deals with the Lepsius "Standard Alphabet," which the Mission had at that time decided to "adopt." This entailed the introduction into the Zulu alphabet of ten new symbols. Grout boldly stood for this. His grammar was a learned piece of work. He delved into many of the deep things of Zulu. The meticulous way in which he worked out the verb led him, however, in some instances, to include hypothetical tenses which are not found in Zulu. His grammatical treatment tended, unfortunately, to prolixity, and his desire for tabulation led in some instances to a wresting of the real import of forms. His development of declensions was certainly not Bantu—though he has been by no means alone in this. One of the very valuable parts of his work is the great collection of idiomatic sentences used in illustration of the various grammatical phenomena. There is no doubt whatever that Grout had a wonderful gram-

⁶⁹1853, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 421-472.

⁷⁰pp. lii, 432.

matical grip of Zulu⁷¹; but his method of presenting the facts was too imposing to commend his grammar to the ordinary worker in Zulu. Nevertheless a second edition was called for, and this appeared in 1893, long after Grout had retired to America. In the preface to this edition, which was written in the ordinary Zulu orthography which lasted down to 1934, the author again bemoaned the lack of agreement upon orthography by the various missionary societies. He himself had to abandon his cherished Lepsius orthography. One wonders what Lewis Grout would have thought of the New Zulu Orthography now accepted!

* * *

It was in 1850 that **Hans P. S. Schreuder** (1817-1882), Bishop of the Norwegian Mission, published at Christiania his *Grammatik for Zulusproget*. He had reached Durban in 1844 and at first associated with the early American Missionaries, afterwards settling at Mapumulo.⁷² His grammatical publication covered some 80 pages. In this Schreuder used a number of special symbols for the present **j**, **hl**, **dl**, **sh**, **tsh**, **ts**, etc., employing modifications of Roman letters, with diacritics superimposed, and three strange characters for the clicks. He confused, at times, **sh** and **tsh**, and sometimes missed the initial nasal in the compound **ng-**; but apart from these points his phonetic analysis is as good as any for the next fifty years. He used a curious form of disjunctive word-division (e.g. **ukw apula**), but employed conjunctive forms for possessives and with **na-**. The operation of the alliterative concord he explained with numerous Latin and Greek parallels. The noun-class forms he numbered 1-13, differentiating singular from plural, 1-8 being singulars and 9-13 plurals. He should have explained the content of the noun classes more fully. Schreuder's treatment of the

locative, the noun diminutives and the passive, shews his clear perception of palatalization, as well as the general rules of formation. His work is, however, handicapped by the classical approach: he gives four cases of nouns, (i) the "rodcasusen," used when subject and object, (ii) the genitive, (iii) the locative and (iv) the vocative; and discusses the "comparison of adjectives," "interrogative pronouns," etc. In some cases he betrays Xhosa influence (possibly Southern Natal); but his whole handling of the various phenomena, as for instance of the relative construction (pp. 49-53), is masterful. Complete verb tenses are shewn, giving all the forms of the third person. The whole work, however, might have been more systematically and attractively presented, to have been more useful. The fact that it was written in Norwegian⁷³ restricted its application. An English translation was prepared by Miss Grote of Trumpington, Cambridge, for the use of Bishop Colenso of Natal. The MS. with notes on the structure of the language by Rev. John Grote, M.A., bears date 1854.⁷⁴

It was in this same year, 1850, that the Rev. C. W. Posselt of the Berlin Missionary Society published *The Zulu Companion offered to the Natal Colonist, to facilitate his intercourse with the natives*. This was a very creditable little Zulu-English phrase book of 64 pages, printed in Pietermaritzburg.

James Perrin (1801-1888), one-time secretary to Sir Theophilus Shepstone at Maritzburg, prepared *A Kafir-English Dictionary of the Zulu-Kafir Language, as spoken by the tribes of the Colony of Natal*. This was published by the S.P.C.K. in London, under the superintendence of J. W. Colenso (who at that time was a close friend of Perrin's, though they were later estranged for theological reasons), in 1855, and consisted of 166 pages single column, with nearly

⁷¹In the Strange Collection of Africana in the Johannesburg Public Library is a little two-volumed MS. *English-Zulu Vocabulary* of about 4,500 entries. Grout probably had a hand in this compilation. This copy was probably made by Silas McKinney about 1855 from a vocabulary used by new missionaries and originally prepared by Lewis Grout, David Rood and Silas McKinney.

⁷²See A. Z. Zungu *Ukuthuthuka kwenzizwe esinsundu*, pp. 9-11.

⁷³I know of only two other Norwegian Grammars of a Bantu language, M. Dahle's 1893 *Kortfattet Zulu grammatisk*, and O. S. Steenberg's *Grundraek of Zulu Sproget* of 1902; though K. E. Laman has several Kongo publications in Swedish, and Nils Westlind a Kongo grammar in that language.

⁷⁴cf. *Guiness, Grammar of the Congo Language*, p. 254.

6,000 Zulu entries. This provided a useful vocabulary for the time, though the writer's ear was at times faulty and there were needless repetition and insertion of derivatives (e.g. passives) in many places. Colenso referred to this rare little work as already being out of print in 1860,⁷⁵ and no new edition of it is known.

In the same year Perrin published at Pietermaritzburg⁷⁶ his *English Kafir Dictionary*⁷⁷ of the Zulu-Kafir Language as spoken by the tribes of the Colony of Natal. This little book of 225 pages (single column), containing about 5,000 English words, was a meritorious piece of work. In 1865 a second edition⁷⁸ appeared, edited and revised by J. A. Brickhill, interpreter to the Supreme Court of Natal. Since that there have been several editions⁷⁹ and additional material included, the present-day edition being a very useful book of reference containing nearly 7,000 English entries. In foreign acquisitions from English and Afrikaans, however, the present recordings in "Perrin"⁸⁰ are not altogether reliable. Perrin's work is particularly valuable in the equivalents he gives to English idiomatic usages, as a glance at such entries as "come," "break," "cut," "draw," "take," "turn," "put," "look," "lay," "go," "give," and many others will shew.

Perrin had been closely associated with the Tylers of the American Mission at Esi-dumbini from 1850. He was Church of England but later became Baptist, and died in Durban on November 7th, 1888.

* * *

Jacob Ludwig Döhne had the distinction of producing the first scientific dictionary published on a South African Bantu language, when his *Zulu-Kafir Dictionary, etymologically explained with copious illustra-*

tions and examples appeared in 1857.⁸¹ Döhne's dictionary is a remarkable work for its time. He followed methods of treatment which are most approved today, and treated a large number of words in 417 pages double column. The points of particular praise regarding this work may be summarized as follows:

- (1) All the words were arranged under the root or stem letter (an obviously correct procedure for a Bantu dictionary, though not followed in many dictionaries even in these enlightened days).
- (2) He arranged derivatives under their roots showing the etymology.
- (3) He enriched the dictionary with idiomatic sentences and phrases illustrating the use of the words. From this his successors might have profited more than they did.

Döhne's dictionary, though long out of print, is still of value to students of Zulu. He has included a number of Xhosa words with the Zulu, and judgment is therefore necessary in using it. Döhne had spent ten years among the Xhosa, having reached South Africa in 1836 to work in connection with the Berlin Missionary Society. The Kafir War of 1846 broke up his mission in Kaffraria, and he succeeded Mr Lindley as acting pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church of Pietermaritzburg. When that engagement terminated, "he was deterred from seeking a reunion with the Berlin Society only by the effects which the war in Germany had had upon the funds of that respected institution"⁸² and in 1847 he joined the American Board Mission in Natal, was stationed at Table Mountain, assisted in Bible translation into Zulu, and was asked to prepare a dictionary. His project was eventually sponsored

⁷⁵Introduction to his *Three Native Accounts of a visit to uMpande*.

⁷⁶P. Davis and Sons, publishers.

⁷⁷Really English-Zulu Vocabulary.

⁷⁸Entitled *Perrin's English-Zulu Dictionary*.

⁷⁹3rd ed., 1878; 4th ed., 1890.

⁸⁰The publishers have so far forgotten the real name of the author as to print "Perrins'" on their latest title page (1917).

⁸¹C. H. Hahn's "Wörterbuch," appended to his *Grundzüge einer Grammatik des Otjiherero*, published in the same year, cannot claim to be more than a vocabulary. Perrin's 1855 work is also a large vocabulary.

⁸²Annual Report of the A.B.C.F.M., 1851, p. 49.

by Sir George Grey and the work published in 1857. The main criticism which may be levelled against this work is that the author was tempted to carry his etymology too far, at times reaching the fanciful in his word-dissection. He had stated in his preface, "I found that it was necessary for me to go back to the rudiments, and form a kind of synopsis of all roots which I could imagine to exist in the language, and to define their meaning." This type of analysis was carried to excess later by F. W. Kolbe in his *Language Study based on Bantu* (1888), by A. C. Madan in his *Living Speech in Central and South Africa* (1911), and by W. Wanger in his *Comparative Lexical Study of Sumerian and 'Ntu'* (1935). Although Döhne devoted nearly two pages of his introduction to word-comparisons between Zulu and "other old languages," including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, etc., he was fortunately not tempted to be carried away by this futile pastime in the body of his dictionary, as was A. T. Bryant in his great work (published in 1905). Döhne's work shews commendable balance, and must have served as a source for the later Zulu lexicographers.

* * *

The outstanding figure in Zulu literary work at this period was undoubtedly **John W. Colenso**, Bishop of Natal. Though his first works were published only at the end of the period under survey, three of them deserve mention here: *An Elementary Grammar of the Zulu-Kafir Language* (1855); *Three Native Accounts of the visit of the Bishop of Natal in September and October, 1859, to uMpande, King of the Zulus* (1860); and the *Zulu-English Dictionary* (1861). Colenso's other Zulu activities were in a translation of the New Testament and parts of the Old Testament, and the preparation of service books and school readers.

Colenso's *Elementary Grammar* was first published in London in 1855. A second edition appeared in 1859, and in the same year an abridgment, from which some of the

less practical sections were omitted, was issued at Ekukanyeni, entitled *First Steps in Zulu: an abridgment of the Elementary Grammar of the Zulu Language*. This abridgment was what appeared in all later editions under the title of *First Steps in Zulu: being an Elementary Grammar of the Zulu Language*. His *First Steps* is an admirable little grammatical study of about 150 pages, and has been widely used by students of Zulu, the wealth of idiomatic examples throughout greatly enhancing its value. Several editions of this work have been issued,⁸³ and it is still of considerable value to students today. Colenso's treatment of the verb is very good, especially the information he gives on "auxiliary" verbs and the verb -thi. His whole work is very concise, useful for reference, and thoroughly reliable: Colenso has not indulged in the recording of hypothetical forms.

During the next year, 1860, appeared Colenso's *Three Native Accounts—Inncwadi yamuHLA uMbISHOPo was'eNatal ehamBELA kwa'Zulu*—a remarkable little publication for the times.⁸⁴ On his title-page the author explained that this little book was "designed for the use of students of the Zulu language." It contains three Zulu texts, accounts of the journey recorded by Magema⁸⁵ and Ndiane, two school boys, and William, a teacher, followed by a full glossary, useful detailed notes with references to his Grammar, and a literal English translation. It is a great tribute to Colenso's linguistic ability that the word-division he used in 1860 is practically identical with what has been decided in the latest orthography settlement as correct for Zulu. Colenso's orthography, too, set the form used as the basis of the 1906 decisions, and this little book was recently declared by competent Zulus as one of the four best examples of the purest Zulu. The *Three Native Accounts* is still (1940) used as an examination "set book" in Zulu.

In 1861 appeared Colenso's *Zulu-English Dictionary*, a work of 552 pages (single column). Though not so "philological" as

⁸³1st ed. 1859, 2nd ed. 1871, 3rd ed. 1882, 4th ed. 1890 and 1903.

⁸⁴1st ed. 1860, 2nd ed. ?, 3rd ed. 1901, 4th ed. ?.

⁸⁵Magema Fuze, who died in 1922, became the author of *Abantu Abamnyama lapha bavela ngakona*.

Döhne's work, this dictionary contained more words and was more easily handled by the seeker after the meaning of words than the earlier work, and so became more generally popular, going through a number of editions,⁸⁶ and even outlasting the more modern works of Bryant and Samuelson, to be still in print. This dictionary contains upwards of 10,000 entries.

It is remarkable that Colenso found time to do such valuable linguistic work on Zulu in the midst of so many other labours, harassed as he was by theological controversy, involving great literary effort, and distracted as his attention was by his championing of the cause of the Zulu king and his people. Yet he did it all, and the only regret one has about his language work is that he does not seem to have been able to appreciate the great work done by others, particularly Callaway—but of this reference must be made when Scripture translation is dealt with. Colenso's name will always be held in honour where Zulu literature is known. He was born in 1814, reached Africa as Bishop of Natal in 1854, and died in 1883.

* * *

Hahn's publication in 1857 of his *Grundzüge einer Grammatik des Herero*, brings this language of South-west Africa into our survey of "work before 1860." **C. Hugo Hahn** was a Lutheran Missionary of the Rhenish Missionary Society. A decade earlier he had published Scripture translations in Herero. In regard to orthography Hahn followed the lead of Lepsius, and also agreed with him in the dropping of the prefixes when referring to Bantu tribal or language names. Hahn was a student and had studied the Bantu works of Krapf, Appleyard and the early Portuguese (in Kongo and Ndongo) besides corresponding with Bleek, Döhne (re Zulu) and Rein (re Tswana). The introduction to his grammar contains considerable comparative material⁸⁷ and he discusses

possible names for branches of the family, suggesting "Kaffir" for the East coast, "Bunda" for the West and "Tswana" for the Centre; but makes no suggestion for a family name. This was to be done five years later by Bleek.

The grammatical portion of Hahn's 1857 publication comprised some 90 pages, introduced by a very useful section on "Lautlehre" inspired by Lepsius. The Parts of Speech he divides into Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives, Numerals, Verbs and "Particles," the last including verbal particles, interrogative particles, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections—a weird medley of differing value! Nevertheless Hahn's Grammar is a great work. All the essential phenomena are carefully recorded, even though he makes what we consider today to be serious mistakes of classification, for instance the inclusion of the reflexive among verbal derivatives, the use of the term "aorist," etc.; and his exposition of the verb might altogether have been presented more concisely and clearly. Several paradigms and tables of forms appended add to the value of the work.

The "Wörterbuch" occupies a hundred pages of double column, and supplies a most reliable vocabulary (Herero-German), which is of especial value today because of the numbers of old Herero words it records. The words are all arranged under the initial vowel not stem phone, and in this, as well as in the lack of illustrative phrases, is decidedly inferior to the work of Döhne in Zulu, published in the same year. But it constitutes a valuable complement to the Grammar with which it was issued, and was not intended to be a detailed dictionary.

(B) NORTH-WESTERN AREA

It was a Quakeress, **Hannah Kilham**⁸⁸ (1774-1832) who gave us our first records of Bantu from this area. Becoming interested in the Anti-Slavery Movement she began by preparing books for the freed slave children

⁸⁶1st ed. 1861, 2nd ed. 1871, new ed. rev. and enl. 1878, reprinted 1884, 3rd ed. ?, 4th ed. 1905.

⁸⁷A large folded sheet is appended to the book containing comparative vocabularies of over 90 words in 12 languages including Nama Hottentot.

⁸⁸An interesting account of Hannah Kilham is given by A. Werner in "English Contributions to the Study of African Languages," *Bibliotheca Africana*, Vol. III, 2/3, July 1929. Further information is to be found in "Missionary Records—West Africa" (R.T.S.) pp. 422-427 (? 1837).

of Sierra Leone; then, taking advantage of some Africans in London, she worked upon the Wolof language and prepared in 1823 *African Lessons, Wolof and English*. That year she sailed for Africa and in all made three such journeys, eventually dying of fever at sea in 1832. What particularly interests us in her work is her *Specimens of African Languages spoken in the Colony of Sierra Leone*, which was published in London in 1827. In a small book of fifty odd pages she illustrates ninety-three common English words in thirty African languages. Though most of these belong to the Sudanic family, there are included at least three Bantu tongues: Bongo,⁸⁹ Rungo⁸⁹ and Kongo. These vocabularies, with additions, were republished in 1841 as part of the *Outline of a Vocabulary of a few of the Principal Languages of Western and Central Africa; compiled for the use of the Niger Expedition*, by **Edwin Norris**, then Assistant Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

Shortly after this, in 1848,⁹⁰ **John Clarke**⁹¹ published his *Specimens of Dialects: Short Vocabularies of Languages: and Notes of Countries and Customs in Africa*. Among the Bantu languages represented in these are Duala (No. 72), Isubu (No. 75), "Fernandian" (No. 110), "Angola" (No. 180), Kongo (No. 193) and Mpongwe (No. 217). This work and that of Norris present two methods of handling so divergent, that we cannot do better than quote *in extenso* Cust's appraisement of them.⁹²

"Clarke's Specimens of Dialects and Notes of Countries and Customs deserve special notice, as illustrative of the faulty method then in fashion. This excellent Missionary had for eighteen years paid attention to the subject in the West Indies, and on the West Coast of Africa in the Equitorial Regions. He has left a Grammar of the Language of the Ediya, which he knew well, being stationed in the Island of Fernando Pô, and he knew more of the Coast opposite round the

Kamerún Mountains than any one before him, but at the time of his compilation in 1848 the desire was to astonish the World by the number and variety of Languages, and to supply materials to the builders of Philological Castles in the air, based upon words, brought together, and their fancied resemblance: with this object the compiler collected words from every part of Africa, not only of Languages, but of Dialectal Varieties of Languages, quotations from published works, or from manuscripts, and he thus presents us with the following imposing, but impractical compilation: I. Ten words in 294 Languages and Dialects. II. Numerals in 338 Languages and Dialects. III. Vocabulary of 21 words in 36 Languages. IV. Vocabulary and sometimes sentences in 20 additional Languages. V. Alphabetical Catalogue of Countries, Places and Languages, with very brief remarks. VI. List of Languages of Africa, as he conceived it. If he had restricted his work to the Region within his own knowledge, and admitted nothing second-hand, carefully noting the person who supplied him with the Vocabularies and the approximate Geographical position of the tribe, we could have followed him; as it is, we read through scores of names with a feeling of despair, and I had to consign them to the limbo where all things are forgotten, for they are "up in the air" as it were, and it is mere waste of time to trace them by an examination of the words. He was not unaware of his danger, for he remarks that many of the Africans belonged originally to Countries far distant from the sea, which they left in tender years, and spent long time in intermediate localities, speaking other Languages, forgetting their own, or forming a compound of their ancestral and adopted Vernacular, a fertile source of error. Very different is the character of the Outline-Vocabulary alluded to above by Norris. He was a great Scholar, and he submitted all exist-

⁸⁹Spoken in the Ogowe-Gaboon areas.

⁹⁰At least it was printed at Berwick-upon-Tweed in 1848 by Daniel Cameron, though the paper over-cover states that it was published in London by B. L. Green of Paternoster Row in 1849.

⁹¹Who along with Dr G. K. Prince had reached Fernando Pô early in 1841, to establish Baptist Mission work.

⁹²R. N. Cust, *The Modern Languages of Africa* (1883), Vol. 1, pp. 27-29.

ing Materials to an acute critical judgment and he had thought and written much about Africa, though he had never visited the Country. He gives a full Alphabetical Vocabulary of Eight Languages, spoken on the West Coast of Africa from the River Senegál to the River Niger: the Numerals in two additional varieties: a reprint with additions of Kilham's Vocabularies; Sentences in Ashánti. He reduced the whole to one form of Transliteration, and gives his Authorities in the Preface. It would have gladdened his heart, had he lived to 1883, and seen the wonderful amount of light let into his favourite subject."

As far as Bantu is concerned Clarke's "field work" was upon the Island of Fernando Pô, which he reached as a Baptist missionary from Jamaica in 1840. He wrote the earliest vocabulary of Bube (*The Adeeyah Vocabulary*) in 1841 and in 1846 published *Sentences in the Fernandian Tongue*.⁹³ In 1848 appeared his *Introduction to the Fernandian Tongue*,⁹³ in which he treats of Bube, calling it "Ediya," or as he spells it, "Adeeyah."

Johnston⁹⁴ terms Clarke "one of the first students of African languages of the Modern School." Though Clarke's realization of the homogeneity of the Bantu languages was, as we shall see later, a distant contribution, we can hardly agree fully to Johnston's tribute. Owing to ill-health Clarke left Fernando Pô in 1849 and returned to Jamaica. He died in 1879.

* * *

John Leighton Wilson was the first serious worker upon the Mpongwe language. In 1834 he had established a Mission of the American Board at Cape Palmas (now

Liberia), where he carried out certain exploration work and evangelized.⁹⁵ French occupation of the territory caused him to remove to the Gaboon, 1,200 miles to the south. Here he worked among the Mpongwe people. In 1843 he produced *Simple Questions in the Gaboon Language* and *Colloquial Sentences in the Gaboon Language*, both issued from Cape Palmas. In 1847 he published "Languages of Africa," article No. 6 in *Mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at the Gabun in 1842*. In the same year appeared *A Grammar of the Mpongwe Language, with Vocabularies*.⁹⁶ No author's name appears on this publication, but the Annual Reports of the A.B.C.F.M. refer to Wilson in connection with it.⁹⁷ In this pioneering publication, Wilson recognizes the extent of the Bantu languages (while not, of course, using the term "Bantu.") He includes some comparative vocabularies. In classifying the nouns he distinguishes four classes which he calls declensions, "though", he adds, "this is not strictly a philosophical term." His class division is mainly according to the plural formation. Of the personal pronouns Wilson includes only the forms for the first class. There is only a very slight treatment of the verb. In all, the grammatical part consists of 38 pages. In the English and Mpongwe vocabulary, which is appended, there are about 2,000 English words and 1,200 Mpongwe words.

In 1849 Wilson published in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*,⁹⁸ Boston, "Comparative Vocabularies of Some of the Principal Negro Dialects of Africa." They were "Mandingo, Grebo, Avekwom, Fanti, Efik, Yebu, of Northern Africa; and Batanga, Panwe, Mpongwe, Congo, Embomma, Swahere, of Southern Africa." These latter can

⁹³Copies of these two works are to be seen in the Grey Library, Cape Town; cf. *Grey Catalogue*, 1858, by W. H. I. Bleek, Nos. 403 and 404.

⁹⁴H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, Vol. I, p. 19 note.

⁹⁵It was he who gave the first description of the Vai alphabet in the *Missionary Herald* for July 1834; it was afterwards rediscovered by Forbes and Koelle in 1849.

⁹⁶New York, 1847; Second edition 1879.

⁹⁷"Mr. Wilson prepared a grammar of the Mpongwe language and made some progress in vocabulary. Something was also done in printing in the Native language, viz. Extracts from the New Testament, Brown's Catechism for Children, a corrected edition of the Hymn Book, and a few sermons to be read by the young people to their religious meetings." (1846, page 92). "Mr. Wilson has prepared a grammar and an extended vocabulary of the Mpongwe language as well as a smaller vocabulary, with a few familiar sentences in the Batanga language. The Mpongwe grammar and vocabulary will probably be printed during his stay in this country" (1847, page 83).

⁹⁸Vol. I, pp. 337-381.

be recognised as Bantu. He had previously (1847) contributed to *Bibliotheca Sacra*⁹⁹ an article "Languages of Africa: Comparison between the Mandingo, Grebo and Mpongwe dialects."

In 1854 Wilson edited Preston and Best's *Grammar of the Bakale Language with Vocabularies*.¹⁰⁰ This deals with diKele. It contains only 25 pages of grammatical notes in which nine vowels are differentiated, and the noun classes are called "declensions." Wilson retired to America, where he became Foreign Mission Secretary.

* * *

P. H. Delaporte wrote an article on Mpongwe, which appeared in a *Mémoire de la Société Ethnologique*, 8, Vol. II, pp. 197-203, which appeared in Paris in 1845.¹⁰¹

* * *

The most important name, however, in connection with early Bantu linguistic work in the North-western area is that of **Alfred Saker** (1814-1880), the pioneer Baptist missionary to the Cameroons. Saker, after having been diverted to Jamaica, had landed in the Island of Fernando Pô early in 1844, where he joined the missionaries Clarke, Prince and Merrick, and the following year started work on the mainland at the mouth of the Cameroons River.¹⁰² Saker early developed an aptitude for language work, particularly with a view to his Scripture translation in Duala, which will be reviewed elsewhere. He approved of Lepsius's Standard Alphabet, and of it he wrote on December 22nd, 1856, "This alphabet I received about three months since, and have given it all the attention it needed; most of its statements will be generally approved."¹⁰³ In 1855 Saker printed at the Baptist Mission Press at the Cameroons his *Grammatical Elements of the Duala Language, with a vocabulary compiled for the use of Missionaries*

and Teachers. The author realized the tentative nature of this publication, his aim being "to assist Missionaries to acquire the language and to translate the Scriptures,—to form a basis for the compilation of a complete grammar,—to give to Native Teachers, an intelligent acquaintance with the structure of their own language, and to enable them to read and explain the Scriptures with efficiency." The "elements of grammar" are treated under the headings of orthography, etymology and syntax in 47 pages, in a very clear and accurate manner. Naturally much of his terminology is obsolete today, for instance the verbal derivatives he terms "conjugations," instancing the following: "Radical" (Simple), "Causative," "Indefinite" (one of the implications), "Reciprocal" and "Relative" (Applied); but his work is not overburdened with unnecessary matter, and the essentials are dealt with. Following the grammatical part are the first thirty-three Psalms (Mienge) and a vocabulary, of which Part I, "Duala and English," occupies 37 pages, while Part II, "English and Duala," of two pages, only reaches the word "accede."¹⁰⁴ Meinhof did not express a high opinion of Saker's work.¹⁰⁵ Probably he did not study it closely, for it is certainly a meritorious production, considering the time in which it was written; the next grammatical work on Duala, that by Christaller, did not appear till 1892. Saker never developed his grammatical work further; he produced a Lesson Book (No. 1) in 1856, a Life of Joseph in 1857, edited¹⁰⁶ a number of Merrick's works on Isubu, and for the rest devoted his linguistic talents to Bible translation, completing the whole Duala Bible in 1872.

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Joseph Merrick (c. 1820-1849) was a mulatto, a native of Jamaica. Educated in

⁹⁹ Vol. IV, No. 16, pp. 745-772.

¹⁰⁰ By J. M. Preston and J. Best. There is a copy of this in the Grey Library, Cape Town.

¹⁰¹ I have not seen a copy of this.

¹⁰² See E. B. Underhill, *Alfred Saker, Missionary to Africa*, 1884.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁰⁴ This is the case in the copy which I have.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. C. Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Bantusprachen*, p. 142, where he writes "Die Saker'schen Werke übergehe ich als zu unsicher für genaue Forschung."

¹⁰⁶ Saker also produced some hymns and a catechism in Isubu himself.

Baptist Missionary Society's schools there, he began to preach as a youth in 1837, and was associated with his father in the pastorate at Jericho. He went as a missionary to Africa to work among the freed slaves under Clarke, reached Fernando Pô in 1843, and eventually settled at Bimbia, Cameroons in 1845 among the Isubu people. Here he quickly learned the language and devoted himself to language and translation work, setting up a printing press. Merrick was not long spared in Africa: he died at sea on his way to England towards the end of 1849. It fell to Saker to edit and see through the press his *Grammatical Elements of the Isubu Language* (1854) and *A Dictionary of the Isubu Tongue* (1854). The *Grammatical Elements* is a rare item,¹⁰⁷ and was printed on the Baptist Mission Press, West Africa. It is not complete, closing abruptly in the middle of the chapter on the verbs, the rest of the MS. having been lost. Merrick did not seem to have a sound appreciation of the noun class system. He recognized the similarity of form with that in Xhosa, referring to Boyce's *Grammar*. He gives a table of nine classes according to "initial letters". Derivative verbs are classified. Of the *Dictionary* only Part I, English and Isubu, "A" to "Potter", was printed. It was part of a large work, for this portion occupies 440 pages¹⁰⁸ with nearly 6,000 entries. Of this Johnston wrote¹⁰⁹: "It is difficult, as one reads Merrick's dictionary of Isubu, to realise that this work was compiled so anciently as the forties' of the last century and by one who had such slight advantages in the way of education, though he had evidently made the utmost use of the instruction given him."

* * *

One other name belongs to this period and area, that of **James L. Mackey**, a

missionary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions at Corisco, in West Africa, whose missionary work had opened tragically.¹¹⁰ In 1855 there was published at New York his *Grammar of the Benga Language*. Benga is situated in proximity to Mpungwe, and Mackey no doubt gained much inspiration from the work of Wilson to whom he makes the following reference:¹¹¹ "The languages, however, of all the tribes in this part of Africa, have certain features which are common: sufficient, according to the judgment of Rev. Mr. Wilson, who has given great attention to the study of African languages, to entitle them to be considered dialects of one original stock." Mackey's Benga Grammar however, is a straightforward record of the obvious things. He classifies the nouns first of all as forming thirteen classes, and then reduces these to seven, by uniting singulars and plurals under one heading. In all, his little grammar occupies some 60 pages. In the same year Mackey wrote a *Benga Primer*.

(C) NORTH-EASTERN AREA

In this area, apart from a publication of Dr Bleek's in 1856, which will be considered presently, the one figure to occupy our attention is that of Dr Krapf, whose name stands out in Bantu literary development.

Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881) began his labours as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Adowa in Abyssinia in 1837. During the next year, however, religious feeling was stirred up against the Protestant missionaries and they were expelled from the Tigre country. Krapf had already developed his great linguistic abilities by studying Amharic and Ethiopic.¹¹² For some time he refused to leave Abyssinia and turned his attention to the Galla of Shoa,

¹⁰⁷ A copy may be seen in the Grey Library, Cape Town, No. 390; pp. 41.

¹⁰⁸ The first four letters, pp. 1-285, were printed in Pica, the remainder in Long Primer. A copy in my possession ends at page 384, the rest, pp. 385-440 was printed after 1854.

¹⁰⁹ *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, Vol. I, p. 4.

¹¹⁰ The pioneers of this missionary effort of 1849 were J. L. Mackey and G. W. Simpson, with their wives. Mrs Mackey died shortly after her arrival, while Mr and Mrs Simpson were lost at sea, indomitable Mackey being left to carry on alone until reinforcement arrived.

¹¹¹ *A Grammar of the Benga Language*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹² After his retirement he revised the Psalms in Amharic in 1860, the New Testament 1864-1865, and the Old Testament 1871-1873, and between the year 1874 and 1878 he edited the New Testament in Ethiopic and Amharic for the Emperor of Abyssinia.

and it was on this Cushitic language that his first publications were carried out.¹¹³ But after much persecution and ill-treatment Krapf and his wife were forced to leave the country in 1844. With a view to reaching the Galla from the south, Krapf began exploration and missionary work with Mombasa as a base. He thus came in contact with the Swahili and other East African Bantu languages. First he produced three chapters of Genesis in "Sooahelee" (1847), and in the following year translated Luke's Gospel into "Nika." This term is really a misnomer; "Nika" meaning "forest" was a term applied to a number of tribes in the coastal forest area around Mombasa, and probably applied to the Duruma as much as to anybody. In collaboration with Rebmann, he prepared a spelling book in the same language, and a translation of the Heidelberg catechism. Krapf's remarkable facility with languages was seen in the production in 1850 of Mark's Gospel in Kamba, quite a distinct Bantu language.

Then in the same year (1850) appeared two books which demand special attention. They were *Vocabulary of Six East-African Languages* and *Outline of the Elements of The Kisuheli language*. The former was a large-sized book¹¹⁴ (of x+64 pages) giving in parallel columns "English, Kisuheli, Kinika, Kikamba, Kipokomo, Kihiuá, and Kigalla," five of these, Swahili, Nika, Kamba, Pokomo and Yao, being Bantu languages. This is a most reliable piece of work and represents only a moiety of the languages studied by Krapf at that time, for he states that he had also collected vocabularies in six other Bantu languages (which he called "Niloctic" or "Nilo-Hamitic.") His introduction to this work is very important for Comparative Bantu studies.

Krapf's Swahili grammar¹¹⁵ had been prepared as early as 1845,¹¹⁶ and as he did not become acquainted with the works of Arch-

bell and Boyce till 1846 and 1847 respectively, he did not incorporate the methods of Boyce in his classification of nouns, which could have been greatly improved thereby. Krapf divides his nouns into (a) prefixed (i.e. in singular and plural), (b) part-prefixed (i.e. either in singular or in plural), and (c) non-prefixed. He discounts the emphasis placed by Boyce on "euphony" but endorses his term "Euphonic or Alliteral Concord." He demonstrates the non-existence of an "article" in Swahili, but develops a case and declension system. For the rest, his grammar, reliable in all its details, was treated in the traditional manner, for he writes:¹¹⁷ "perhaps many persons would wish me to have chosen an other systematical arrangement, more founded on the peculiarity of the Niloctic Idiom than on the traditional manner of grammatical systematisation. But after some consideration I thought it better, to leave this matter to future grammarians of the Kisuheli, and to the learned men at home, who have more leisure and talents, than the Missionary abroad, whose primary object is apostolic, not scientific." The orthography employed by Krapf at this time has undergone considerable alteration, as for instance in the modern use of **w** and **y**. He worked in the Mombasa dialect, particularly of the Rabai area, and his German ear caused him constant confusion of **d** for **t**, **s** for **z**, etc.

Among Krapf's other works of this period was the translation of the New Testament into Mombasa Swahili (1847-1853); though this was not published at the time, the British and Foreign Bible Society printed it in 1878 after having lent it to Bishop Steere to help him in his translating work when he came to Africa in 1863. In 1854 Krapf issued *Prayers in Swahili*, and in the same year a *Vocabulary of Engutuk Eloikob*. These came out after Krapf had retired to Germany, when he continued doing Bible translation and

¹¹³ John's Gospel (1839), *Elements of the Galla Language* (1840), Matthew (1841) and *Vocabulary of the Galla Language* (1842).

¹¹⁴ 10½ins. + 13ins.

¹¹⁵ Full title: *Outline of the Elements of the Kisuheli Language, with special reference to the Kinika Dialect*, Tübingen, 1850.

¹¹⁶ See Note on page 3.

¹¹⁷ Page 5.

linguistic work right up to his closing years. This is outside our period, but mention must be made of Krapf's magnum opus *A Dictionary of the Suahili Language* printed posthumously in 1882,¹¹⁸ consideration of which must be deferred at this point; and also of the *Nika-English Dictionary* which he and J. Rebmann had prepared, and which was eventually edited by Sparshott and published in 1887.¹¹⁹ Krapf's name will stand in East African annals, not only as a great missionary and a great explorer, but for his great contribution to our knowledge of African languages.

* * *

One other work¹²⁰ requires mention in the East African field at this period. In 1856 was published *The Languages of Mosambique*. These were, as the sub-title explains, "Vocabularies of the Dialects of Lourenzo Marques, Inhambane, Sofala, Tette, Sena, Quellimane, Mosambique, Cape Delgado, Anjoane, the Maravi, Mudsau, etc., drawn up from the manuscripts of Dr Wm. Peters, M. Berl. Acad., and from other materials, by Dr Wm. H. J. Bleek, Member of the German Oriental Society." Dr Peters, aided by the Prussian Government, studied natural history in the Portuguese settlements in East Africa from 1842-1848, during which time he collected numerous linguistic specimens from the area. Dr Bleek, then quite a young man, studied these collections in 1852, and realizing that they were "superior in amount and trustworthiness to those which are usually collected by travellers" obtained Dr Peters's permission to translate, edit and publish them. There was some difficulty owing to the doubtful handwriting, and uncertain orthography, which was "by turns Portuguese, English and German." "The languages of these vocabularies," Bleek points out, "all belong to that great family which, with the exception of the Hottentot

dialects, includes the whole of South Africa, and most of the tongues of Western Africa."¹²¹ Bleek prefaces this publication¹²² with a table of eighteen noun classes, anticipating what appeared in his great comparative work, which saw the light thirteen years later. Dr Bleek's contribution to Bantu studies will have to be discussed later, when Comparative Bantu is under review; but even these early vocabularies shew the touch of a master in their handling.

III

LITERARY EFFORTS BEFORE 1860

Apart from some elementary school readers, catechisms and hymn books, the development of Bantu literature in this period was confined to translations of Scripture. While the former works need not be considered from the point of view of literature, the Bible translation work, some of which was printed as early as 1830, is of immense importance. Just as the English vernacular translation of the Bible by Coverdale in 1535 was of inestimable value in the ultimate standardization of literary English, so have the early Bantu vernacular translations laid the foundations of literature in a number of these languages.

Consideration to the part played and being played by Bible translation in Bantu literature cannot be dealt with here; it will be necessary at this stage merely to mention the work done up to 1860, and defer any detailed discussion upon it, until the whole question can be dealt with.

The first published scripture translation we have is that by the great missionary Robert Moffat into Tswana; in 1830 he published Luke's Gospel, in 1840 the New Testament, and in 1857 the Old Testament, completing the whole Bible. It is sufficient to say that Moffat's translation persists to the present day. He used the Tlhaping dialect.

¹¹⁸pp. x1 + 433 double column, Trübner and Co. The introduction contained an "Outline of a Suahili Grammar."

¹¹⁹pp. 391 double column, S.P.C.K.

¹²⁰Mention might also be made of S. K. Masury's "A Vocabulary of the Soahili language", a five-page pamphlet printed at Cambridge (Mass.) in 1845. This was also issued in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (N.S., Vol. II, pp. 248-253) at Cambridge in 1846.

¹²¹See Bleek's Introduction, pp. iv, v.

¹²²Of xix + 403 pp., of 1742 English words followed by nine columns.

The first published translation in Xhosa (also Luke's Gospel) was brought out by Shaw and Boyce in 1833, though manuscript translations by John Bennie in the early 'twenties are extant. A number of other missionaries, including Ayliff, Shewsbury, Dugmore and Döhne contributed to the New Testament, which was completed by 1838 and printed in 1846. Appleyard made a separate translation of the New Testament in 1854, and he and Krapf completed the Old Testament in 1857. Appleyard's contribution to Bible translation is an outstanding one.

In 1839 the Gospels of Mark and John prepared by Casalis and Rolland appeared in Southern Sotho, and in the same year certain Scripture selections by Arbousset were published. Casalis and Rolland completed the New Testament in 1855, but the whole Bible was not translated until 1878.

Scripture extracts in Zulu appeared in 1846, having been prepared by the missionary Newton Adams; Matthew (1848), Psalms (1850) and other books followed, but the New Testament was not completed till 1865.

In the same year, 1846, Merrick published Matthew's Gospel in Isubu, following this by Mark (1847), Genesis (1847) John (1848), Selections (1848), and the Gospels and Acts, which were edited by Saker in 1852 after Merrick's death.

Saker's first translation in Duala was Matthew's Gospel in 1848. Other portions followed and he completed the New Testament in 1861. His great contribution, culminating in the completion of the whole Bible will have to be considered later.

Krapf's name looms large in connection with African Bible translation. After having worked in non-Bantu Amharic and Galla, he produced three chapters of Genesis in Swahili in 1847 and Luke's Gospel in "Nyika" in 1848, following this with Mark's Gospel in Kamba in 1850. Between 1847 and 1853 he translated the whole New Testament into Mombasa Swahili, though this was not published until 1878.¹²³

The first Herero scriptures were "selections" by C. H. Hahn and Rath in 1849, the New Testament and Psalms being published in 1879.¹²⁴

Clarke and Saker produced Matthew's Gospel in Bube in 1849.¹²⁴

In Mpongwe Matthew appeared in 1850, John in 1852, probably both being the work of Wilson. The New Testament was not completed until 1893.

In 1858 Mackey published Matthew's Gospel in Benga, and the whole New Testament was ultimately completed by Nassau in 1872.

* * *

Such is a brief summary of the translation work of this period. Before the end of the 19th Century Bible translation work had been done in no less than sixty-six Bantu languages, in some thirteen of which work had been done before 1860. The outstanding names in connection with this period were undoubtedly Robert Moffat (1795-1883), John William Appleyard (1814-1874), Alfred Saker (1814-1880) and Johann Ludwig Krapf (1810-1881), the last three of whom also did notable philological work in Bantu, as has already been noticed.

¹²³When revised and edited by Steere.

¹²⁴See the note on this translation work in the *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*, Part II, page 363 (B. & F.B.S., London, 1911).

ON THE EASTERN BANTU ROOT FOR SIX

A. SEIDENBERG*

SYNOPSIS

The almost universal stem for 3 in Bantu is *-tatu*, or a variant, in particular *-datu*. In the northeast the dominant form for 6 is *-tandatu*. It has been asserted that *-tandatu* is a duplication of *-datu*. This etymology is rejected. Instead the etymology *-tandatu* = 5 + 3 is suggested. Evidence is presented to show that *-tandatu* was originally in position 8 but then fell into position 6.

1. The Bantu stock is a large family of over 200 distinct languages covering most of the lower third of Africa, the main exceptions being the languages of the Hottentot and the Bushman in the southwest and inroads in the northeast by the Semitic and Hamitic languages. Bantu covers most of the Congo forests, north and northwest of which, from the Nile to Cape Verde, the Sudanic languages take over. Amongst these are a number which, though not Bantu, have been termed Semi-Bantu because of certain resemblances to Bantu.¹

In this vast Bantu family the almost universal stem for three is *-tatu*, or a variant, for example, *-datu*, *-satu*, *-taru* amongst others.² East of Lake Tanganyika the dominant stem for six is *-tandatu*. Further south, from about 10° to 20°, six is mainly expressed by an explicit composition of the forms for five and for one, though the form *-tandatu* is still found; and in fact this stem occurs also in southernmost Africa, in Xhosa. In the west, *-tandatu* is almost non-existent, the only exceptions being in some of the Semi-Bantu Cameroons-Cross River languages, where the forms *be-tanda*, *-tandat*, and *-tandaro* are found.³

Several writers on the Bantu languages, C. Meinhof, H. H. Johnston, K. Roehl, M. Schmidl, amongst others, have suggested,

or asserted, that etymologically the word *-tandatu* signifies "three and three" or "again three," or in any event a duplicated three. There are a number of grounds which render this suggestion very plausible. First, there is the fact that the form *-datu* for three is contained in *-tandatu*. And, of course, six really is twice three.

There are other grounds. M. Schmidl speaks of "representation by equal or quasi-equal summands," and means by this a construction in which an even number is expressed as the sum of two equal numbers and an odd number is expressed as the sum of two numbers which differ by 1. This method of constructing number-words, which we will refer to more briefly as "neo-2-counting," undoubtedly exists in African languages.⁴ Thus in the Semi-Bantu Cameroons-Cross River languages, Akparabon and Ekoi, one finds:⁵

Akparabon	Ekoi
3 bera	esa
6 bera bera	esaresa
4 bene	eni
8 bene bene	enireni
7 bene bera	eniresa
5 berun	elon
9 erun ibeune	eloneni

The same phenomenon occurs with equal clarity in many of the Sudanic languages.⁶

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¹See H. H. Johnston, *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages*, 2 vols., Oxford (1922), henceforth referred to as *Bantu*, vol. 2, p. 162ff.

²The hyphen indicates that a variable prefix is to be supplied.

³See the appropriate vocabularies in Johnston, *op. cit.*

⁴One need not be concerned with the chronological connotations of this terminology.

⁵See Theodor Kluge, *Die Zahlenbegriffe der Sudansprachen*, Berlin (1937); or Johnston, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 689.

⁶Of the sixteen groups into which M. Delafosse has divided the Sudanic languages, this can be said for some of the languages in groups VI, VII, IX, X; Mongwandi in VI, see H. H. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, 2 vols., London (1908), vol. 1, pp. 840, 846; Suri Gulei in VII, see M. Gaudetroy-Demombynes, *Documents sur les langues de l'Oubang-Chari*, Actes du XIV^e congrès int. des Orientalistes, Alger, 1905, Part II, Sect. IV, Paris (1907), p. 276; Kotoko of Kousri, of Logone, of Goulfei, in X, *ibid.*, p. 232; Akparabon, Ekoi, *et alia*, in IX, see Kluge, *op. cit.*, or Johnston, *op. cit.* (*Bantu*). Neo-2-counting undoubtedly occurs in some of the others, but not with the same clarity.

The clear existence of neo-2-counting in nearby languages is, of course, grounds for supposing that the Bantu speakers may have been familiar with the phenomenon and may have been influenced by it in their speech.

Also in Bantu itself, and in particular in Eastern Bantu, one finds that the form for eight appears to be simply a duplication of the form for four. The almost universal Bantu root for four is *-ne*, or a variant; and a very widespread word for eight is *nana*, or a variant. The duplication is not always exact, in fact usually it is not; but frequently it is. For example in Kamba (British East Africa) one has $4=-nya$ and $8=-nyanya$. This same root *-ne* and its duplication are also widespread in the Sudanic languages, and in particular in those in which neo-2-counting is undoubtedly present.⁷ Altogether, then, one need not doubt that the equation $8=4+4$ is present in Bantu.

Finally there is clear, explicit, and direct (if not linguistic) evidence that neo-2-counting is familiar to the Bantu speakers: this lies in a system of finger-gestures found with many of them. Most finger-gestures for numbers—and this holds also for Bantu Africa—are quinary in the sense that first the fingers of one hand are employed to register the numbers from one to five; and the other hand is used to register the excess over five. There is another system, however, in which six is shown using three fingers of each hand; seven, using four of one and three of the other; eight, using four of each hand. This neo-2-system is widespread east of Lake Tanganyika, and also occurs with fair frequency throughout the Congo belt.⁸ Thus there can be no question whatever that the northeastern Bantu are familiar with and habitually use neo-2-constructions.

2. The above are the various reasons, both explicit and tacit, which have been brought forward to support the etymology *-tandatu* = $3+3$. We have tried to present them in as

clear and as convincing manner as possible; and they are plausible. For all that, we reject this etymology and will offer one of our own. Toward this end, we first review the above evidence.

Without casting doubt on the suggestion that the Bantu stem for three is contained in that for six, still we ask just how *-tandatu* is to be made out to be $3+3$. If we knew that *-tan* meant "three" or "again", or some like notion, the matter would be clear enough; but we do not, and $6=3+3$ is a construction with no parallel in the other numbers. H. H. Johnston, though he speaks sometimes of the equation " $6=3+3$ " as a definite fact and *-tandatu* as an "obvious duplication", when he considers the possible linguistic derivation, expresses some doubt. Thus he writes:⁹

"It seems almost certain that all these forms were derived from an original duplication of *-tatu*, but the medial *n* is a little difficult to account for, unless we assume that the old root for 'three' was nasalized for greater definiteness and turned into *-ntatu*, *-ndatu*. In that case an original *-ndatu* *-ndatu* would give us easily all the modern forms by derivation . . . " It is quite clear that H. H. Johnston is actually doubtful about the derivations."

M. Schmidl cites K. Roehl to the effect that the Schambala word for six, *mutandatu*, is to be resolved into *ntatu na ntatu* (na=and), but Roehl gives no explanation and Schmidl herself seems unconvinced, as she feels constrained to call attention to a reconstructed form *tanda*=spread.¹⁰ In doing this, she is merely following a suggestion of C. Meinhof. This suggestion was made specifically with reference to the Konde language, spoken at the northern end of Lake Nyasa, which shows:

1 *-mo*

6 *nthandathu* or
-hano na -mo

⁷See, for example, the Ekoi and Akparabon vocabularies given above.

⁸See Marianne Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika", *Mitteilungen der Anthro. Gesellschaft in Wein*, vol. 45, 1915. It would be easy to multiply good references, but Schmidl gives a reliable picture of the distribution. See also footnote 29.

⁹Johnston, *Bantu, op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 471.

¹⁰See Schmidl, p. 172; K. Roehl, *Versuch einer systematischen Grammatik der Schambala-Sprache*, Hamburg (1911), p. 36. Incidentally Roehl casts doubt on the etymology *munane*=*ne na ne=4+4*, since the tones are against it.

2 -'bili	7 <i>lwele kimo</i> or - <i>hano na -'bili</i>
3 - <i>thathu</i>	8 <i>lwele gosa</i> or - <i>hano na -thathu</i>
4 - <i>na</i>	9 <i>mfundiko kimo</i> or - <i>hano na -na</i>
5 - <i>hano</i> or <i>mfundiko</i>	10 <i>mfundiko gosa</i> or <i>mlongo</i>

Comparing 5 and 10, we may conclude that *gosa* has a doubling effect. This would make *lwele*=4. Now 7=*lwele kimo*, and we may be tempted to make *kimo*=3. Commenting on 7, Meinhof says:¹¹

"*lwele* really means 'four' (two fingers of each hand are brought together). If one adds to this *ikingi nthanda*, that is, 'the other' (hand makes) *nthanda* (stretching out of the three middle fingers), then it means 'seven'. This is shortened to "*lwele kimo*."

That *lwele* means, or is to be taken to mean "four," seems justified, but the explanation of *kimo* as "three" is harder to swallow, not only because of the linguistic compression, but because with this explanation we get 9=5+3. Now it is not inconceivable that the Konde speakers should say "5+3" for nine, but the fact that Meinhof has not a word of comment on this indicates that his considerations are not well taken. The source of his error is the neo-2-gesture language, from which he also would make *nthanda*=3.

3. Having cast doubt on the equation *-tandatu*=3+3, we ask whether there is any evidence at all in Bantu of neo-2-counting. The words which come here especially under scrutiny are the words for 6, 7, and 8; 9, less so since the construction 9=5+4 is also the construction in the quinary count, that is, a count in which 6, 7, 8, 9 are referred to 5, a method of widespread occurrence in Africa. The equations 7=4+3 and 8=4+4 cannot *a priori* serve to distinguish a neo-2-system from a 4-system; but in the case of Africa they definitely represent, according to M. Schmidl, evidence of neo-2-counting. The reason is that she has found in all of Africa,

both Bantu and non-Bantu, not a single clear example of a 4-system, and in particular not a single example of the equation 6=4+2. Actually we do have one such example, the Semi-Bantu Afudu,¹² which shows 6=4+2 7=4+3, (8=2·4); but even so, we think that M. Schmidl's contention is well taken, and will agree that 7=4+3 and 8=4+4 give evidence of neo-2-counting.

As for the equation 7=4+3, we have only four Bantu languages in which there are any grounds for supposing it occurs.¹³ Of these, one, Bakwa, is doubtful, but in the others the word for 7 is an explicit composition of the words for 4 and 3. Of these three languages, one, Masango-Asira, is spoken in the northwest and contains no other trace of neo-2-counting (this language will be considered in another connection below). Of the two remaining, Sango and Bemba, Sango is centrally located in the region east of Lake Tanganyika, Bemba, south and southwest of the lake.

Sango shows:

- 3 -*tatu*
- 4 -*na*
- 7 -*na na-datu* (*na*=and)
- 8 *mnana*
- 5 *sano*
- 9 *sano na wa-na*

(Six is *mtanda*, which, however, we are holding in doubt to be 3+3.) In 9=5+4 we have a construction which coincides with the quinary construction for 9, but it is a fact that in the whole range of Bantu languages, whenever 9=5+4 occurs, also 6=5+1, 7=5+2, and 8=5+3 occur; the only exception is Sango. Thus we may classify Sango as neo-2, at the same time noting that this separates it from the main body of Bantu counting.

There is another way in which Sango differs from most Bantu counting. Bantu is almost entirely decimal, that is 20 is expressed as 2 times 10 (or 10 times 2), 30 as 3·10 or 10·3, etc. By a 20-system one means a system in which the higher numbers are

¹¹See C. Meinhof, *Grundriss einer Lautlehre der Bantu-Sprachen*, Berlin (1910), p. 194.

¹²Johnston, *Bantu*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 725.

¹³*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 504, 573, 162, 192.

referred to 20 as a base; thus, for example, 40 is expressed as 20·2, 60 as 20·3, etc. There is very little of this in Bantu, though 20-systems occur frequently in the Sudan, and all the instances of it in Bantu, with one exception, are on the northern boundary of the Bantu region; all, with but one exception, are above the equator.¹⁴ The exception is Sango. Thus in several ways the Sango numeration separates from Bantu but finds affiliations in the Sudan.

As for *six*, in addition to the forms which he links to *tandatu*, H. H. Johnston suggests that the forms *sasaba*, *sesaba*, *-sansaba*, which are found in four neighbouring languages in the northeast, may be duplications. The forms are referred to as "puzzling", and the suggestion is made in quite a tentative way.¹⁵ If these words are duplications, they are, in any event, not duplications of the local word for three.

A widespread form for six is *-tuba*. H. H. Johnston says that it stems from a word meaning "thumb". Perhaps it is well to make the following observation. The form *-bali* is a reconstructed root from which stem almost all Bantu words for 2; and this form itself occurs frequently for 2. In several languages we get 2=*-bali*, 3=*-tatu*, 6=*-tuba*; and it may be that *-tuba* is an abbreviation for *tatubali*=3·2. The difficulty with this suggestion is that the relation of *-tuba* to *-tatu* and *-bali* may be purely coincidental and the construction *-tuba* does not have a parallel amongst the other numbers. For example, if we found *naba*=8, then we might feel confident that *-tuba*=3·2 and *naba*=4·2. But without such parallels one remains doubtful. The etymology *-tandatu*=3+3 suffers from the same difficulty.

Heuristically, the neo-2-gesture language justifies the search for neo-2-constructions in the vocal language, but the fact is that the search leads to very little. Putting aside doubtful forms of six, we have just three examples of the equation 7=4+3 and just one of 9=5+4 (outside of clear quinary counts).

We can say, then, that there is no clear evidence of neo-2-counting in Bantu and that what little evidence there is to be attributed to Sudanic influence, whether before or after the Bantu dispersal we will not try to say. These conclusions strengthen our suggestion that the etymology *tandatu*=3+3 should be rejected.

4. We come now to our etymology of *-tandatu*. The almost universal form for 5 in Bantu is *-tano* or *-tanu*, sometimes abbreviated to *tan*. In this shortened form it also occurs in combinations for 6, 7, 8, 9, for example with the Kaka.¹⁶ The almost universal stem for 3 in Bantu is *-tatu*, also frequently found in the form *-datu*. Then *-tandatu* derives from 5+3=*tan+datu*. This etymology is quite clear and would no doubt be readily accepted but for the fact that *-tandatu* means *six*. For example in Guruman, a Semi-Bantu language, we have:¹⁷

1 <i>buka</i>	6 <i>cenihu</i>
2 <i>e-ribu</i>	7 <i>tandari</i>
3 <i>-tatu</i>	8 <i>tandatu</i>
4 <i>-nashi</i>	9 <i>tandashi</i>
5 <i>-tua</i>	10 <i>u-pwa</i>

No one will doubt that here the etymology of *tandatu* is "five plus three". Still one may hesitate in the case that *tandatu* means *six*.

We will not try to explain this shift, but will give a few examples in which it is quite clear that such a shift has taken place: in other words, we place beyond doubt the fact that such shifts do take place.

5. First, however, we will discuss a fact which creates difficulties for the establishment of such a proposition. It is the fact that the use of the same word for say "six" in one language and "seven" in another does not prove that there has been any slip and we will give examples to show that such a phenomenon occurs without any slipping.

As first example we mention the word *samba* which quite frequently occurs for

¹⁴A negative statement of this sort depends on a specific set of vocabularies: in the present case, Johnston's.

¹⁵Johnston, *Bantu*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 470.

¹⁶*ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 664.

¹⁷*ibid.*, p. 742.

"seven," but also occurs for "six".¹⁸ This *samba* is clearly related to a combining form for 6, 7, 8, 9 which is best preserved with the Herero, who show:

1 -mwe	6 <i>hambo-umwe</i>
2 -vari	7 <i>hambo-m-bari</i>
3 -tatu	8 <i>hambo-n-datu</i>
4 -ne	9 <i>i-muviu</i>
5 -tano	10 <i>omu-rongo</i>
11 <i>omu-rongo na-mwe</i> ¹⁹	

Many languages show just two of the corresponding forms, many just one. When a language contains just one such form, say 7=*samba*+2, the 2 becomes unnecessary and is dropped; similarly we get 6=(*samba*+1)=1=*samba*.

The West Luba pair 7 and 8: 7=*mu-anda mu-takete*, 8=*mw-anda mu-kulu*. The Eastern Luba do, too, but with them 8=*mwanda*, simply, while 7=*mu-anda mo-kulu*. Thus the same form occurs for 7 and 8 in different languages.²⁰

The stem *-ambi* is a widespread word for eight in Congoland and in the Cameroons, but it also occurs for six in several languages.²¹ How this word took up both positions it would be difficult if not impossible to say. In Edo, a Niger-Cameroons language, the word *igbe* stands both for 8 and for 10.²²

6. Now for some examples in which the fact that a shift has taken place is quite clear. In Masongo-Asira,

1 <i>moshi</i>	7 <i>kambo-moshi</i> ²³ (also: <i>ina-gwi-reru</i> =4+3)
2 <i>bei</i>	8 <i>kambo-bei</i>
3 <i>i-rero</i>	9 <i>kambo-irero</i> (also: <i>kambo-moshi</i> in some dialects)

Here, then, *kambo-moshi* is in some dialects 9 and in others 7. There is something else

quite strange about these number words. The *kambo* is the same root as *hambo*, encountered with the Herero; and the words for 7, 8, 9 are quite what one might expect for 6, 7, 8. Of course, looking at Masongo-Asira in isolation, we might suppose that it has a 6-system; however, there can be little doubt that the words for 6, 7, 8 were pushed into positions 7, 8, 9 respectively; possibly this was under the influence of 6-counters, but certainly the shift took place.

For our next two examples, we consider the Shari group of languages of the Sudan.²⁴ Here we find in Miltu: 4=*wedi*, 8=*welwel*, an obvious duplication. But then in Nielim we find (5=*luni*), 10=*welwei*. The sequence *we-* occurs in several of the other languages in "four" but never in "five". Thus 4 has been duplicated, then displaced.²⁵

In Somre we find:

1 <i>mun</i>	8 <i>dina o mun</i>
2 <i>sie</i>	9 <i>dina u sie</i>
3 <i>supo</i>	6 <i>kubi</i>
4 <i>wodi</i>	7 <i>urgi supo</i>
5 <i>gi</i>	

Thus we get 8=7+1, 9=7+2, and it appears that we have part of a 7-system. We are very sceptical of this conclusion, however, since the phenomenon of a 7-system is not to be found in all of Africa (or even in the world, as far as we know). Rather, it seems to us, these words must have been part of a 6-system, which were displaced one step (or perhaps of a 5-system, displaced two steps). Looking around amongst the Shari languages we find in fact in Nung-Tiere: 6=*per benda*, 2=*so*, 8=*per benda so*; moreover, well-preserved 6-systems do occur in the Sudan. Then, too, we can look about to see whether *dina* has been displaced: and find in Gaberi 6=*di*, also reported as *gi*, which note is 5 in

¹⁸See the appropriate vocabularies in Johnston, in particular South Luba, p. 405, and Luganda, p. 67.

¹⁹The word for 11 shows that the word "and" does not occur in 6, 7, 8.

²⁰Johnston, *Bantu*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 405, 457. -*anda*, in particular *mwanda*, occurs frequently for 100; see p. 481. ²¹*ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 471, 473.

²²N. W. Thomas, *The Edo Speaking Peoples*, London (1910); also Kluge, p. 137.

²³Johnston, vol. 1, p. 573, adds a question mark to this, but does not say why. Perhaps he is referring to the fact that *kambo-moshi* should presumably stand for 6.

²⁴For Miltu, Nielim, Somre (first vocabulary), Nung-Tiere, and Gaberi, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, pp. 301, 291. For the second Somre vocabulary see Kluge, p. 163.

²⁵Schmidl, p. 192, has noted this phenomenon.

Somre. Another vocabulary of the Somre gives

3 <i>subu</i>	6 <i>ugi</i>
4 <i>wayti</i>	7 <i>tagsuba</i>
	8 <i>wodewode</i>

The first vocabulary shows $7=ugi\ supo$, $3=supo$, so that it may seem that here $7=4+3$. But the *ugi* here looks like the *ugi*, 6, of the second vocabulary. Thus it looks as if $9=6+3$ has been displaced into position 7; which may have happened just because Somre originally expressed 7 as $x+3$, that is, in neo-2-fashion; note from 8=*wodewode* that Somre shows a trace of neo-2-fashion; thus the 7, 8, 9 of a 6-system suffered a simple cyclical permutation. Our remarks here in such detail may perhaps not be well taken, but in any event it is clear that at one time confusion reigned amongst the Shari languages and that several shifts in the number language took place.

Many other examples could be given, but as the object is simply to make clear that such shifts take place, the above are sufficient.

7. Originally we began to doubt the etymology *-tandatu*=3+3 because this construction does not have a parallel amongst the other number words. This doubt was confirmed by a lack of linguistic evidence of neo-2-counting in Bantu. Awareness of the possibility of dislocation of the numerals made us suspect that *-tandatu*=5+3. The existence of *-tandatu* for 8 in one of the Semi-Bantu languages confirmed our suspicion.

Yet there are reasons to doubt that *-tandatu*=*tan+datu*=5+3. The first is that the construction *tan+datu* to give *tandatu* is not a Bantu-like construction at all. In Bantu there are really two kinds of quinary counts, that is, ways in which 6, 7, 8, 9 are referred to 5; the first has 5 explicitly in the construction, the second has 5 only implicitly. These types we will call southeastern and southwestern respectively. The southwestern occurs best preserved with the Herero, but otherwise only traces of this method, though plenty of them, especially

for 6 and 7, occur. The southeastern, on the other hand, is very well preserved, especially in the southeast. The construction here is so explicit that, for example, in $8=(-5)+(-3)=-tano+-datu$, the prefixes continue to be variable; and the + is explicitly expressed with *na*=and. As one goes northwest, however, the splice becomes more smooth, for example, the variability of the prefix is lost; the *na* is dropped, though frequently there seems to be some sort of copula; and in any event, some copula or at least a vowel follows the *tan* in combinations.²⁶ Thus *tan+datu* is not a Bantu-like construction. But this is not fatal to our suggestion, but merely indicates that *-tandatu* was manufactured outside Bantu, probably in the Sudan, where this type of construction is familiar enough.

Second, there is the fact that *tandatu*=8 in Gurumana, when compared with 7 and 9, yields the common part *tanda*, so the subdivision should be *tanda+tu*. Also, following the word *tandatu* from language to language, we see that although the *d* sometimes varies, it is for the most part fixed; and the final *t* usually, though not always, follows the variation of the *t* in *-datu*.²⁷ And M. Schmidl's suggestion *tanda*=stretch would give the division *tanda+tu*. We can grant all this, even insist on it. Still the quinary character of *tandatu*=8 in Gurumana is absolutely clear.

8. There remains the question how or why number words get displaced. Undoubtedly the main reason is that counting must be learned and learning involves making mistakes. We suspect, however, that the fact that numbers have a non-arithmetical character is more specially related to the phenomenon; we refer to the fact that numbers have a sacred character and are frequently subject to tabus. For example, the counting of people is tabu in Africa (in many places),²⁸ for fear the counted persons will die. An even more striking tabu is found amongst the Bantu with the neo-2-gestures: here the speaker will not say the

²⁶See the appropriate vocabularies in Johnston, *Bantu*, *op. cit.*

²⁷See the appropriate vocabularies in Johnston, *Bantu*, *op. cit.*

²⁸See J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, New York (1923), p. 307ff.

number, but makes the gesture, and the interlocutor voices the number;²⁹ in this way the two share the danger attendant upon uttering numbers. As we visualize it, numbers come under a tabu of silence; this creates gaps in the counting series, which then are filled by words from the outside; or even by part of the series slipping internally. We have some evidence for these suggestions, but not enough to form a proof.

Editorial Note: The etymology **-tandatu** = 5+3, suggested here, raises new problems of historical phonology which are not taken into account at all in this paper. The initial consonant of Proto-Bantu ***tano** (five) is the "palatal" variety, written by Meinhof

as **t** with an underline; whereas all the /t/ consonants in ***-tandatu** (or ***-tantatu**) and ***-tatu** are the ordinary nonpalatal variety. Compare for example:

	Five	Three	Six
Proto-Bantu	*-t^{an}o	*-t^{an}u	*-t^{an}du
Xhosa	.. - qanu	-thathu	-thandathu
Tswana	.. - tlhanu	-raru	-rataru
Shona	.. - šanu	-tatu	-tanhatu
Chagga	.. - tanu	-raru	-randaru

Nevertheless, the data and arguments presented here should prove interesting and stimulating to linguistic scholars, and of value to anyone who might undertake a full study of the problem. (D.T.C.)

BOOK REVIEW

Ndalikhenketha elasentia (A long journey up-country). C. A. W. SIGILA. Lovedale Press. 1954. 59 pp.

In this little book, the writer relates in vivid and very lovely language, his adventures while on a journey from Lovedale to Clocolan, in search of his uncle. The greater part of the journey was carried out on foot, with the train resorted to very occasionally. The writer undertook this journey in 1914, at the beginning of the First World War, when travelling was, according to the author, a very risky undertaking for an African, since rumour had it that the Boer rebels did not spare the life of an African suspected of sympathizing with the English.

One enjoys reading this book, not so much for what is said, as for the manner in which the writer says it. His humour is irrepressible. We are listening here to a Xhosa man,

well versed in rural ways, talking to other men, noting the condition of the fields through which he passed, the flocks of sheep, the dirty water collected in ditches along the road, etc. He is interested more in the lowing of cattle than in the singing of birds. This is a farmer speaking—albeit a conceited farmer, who is chagrined to learn that the farming methods they pursue in the Cape, are not the most up-to-date. But the author has his tongue in his cheek much of the time, and the reader is often at a loss to know whether he is serious or not. He prays very often but his prayers are calculated either to influence those around him or to assure the reader that he is reading the writings of a Christian gentleman who dares not tell a lie!

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²⁹See the references in Schmidl on neo-2-gestures. As a spot check, we mention W. H. Stapleton, *Comparative Handbook of Congo Languages*, Yakusu, 1903, p. 108.

NOTES AND NEWS

THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF ZULU

From MR A. T. COPE,
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I am grateful to Mr L. W. Lanham of Rhodes University for the interest he has shown in my article and for the letter he has written in criticism of it. He has given me this opportunity to clarify some of the points on which we seem to disagree. It is indeed a pity that the Bantuists of the School of Oriental and African Studies have not published more widely, but I can assure Mr Lanham that the principles and techniques are those that are generally accepted as basic to modern linguistics. In my article I tried to apply them to Zulu, but I must take full responsibility for my own use of the term "form," round which hinges the criticism levelled at me by Mr Lanham.

Professor Guthrie used to say that grammatical form was determined by grammatical behaviour, either internal or external, the former being "the capacity of the word for combination with other elements, e.g. prefixes and suffixes" and the latter being "the behaviour of the word in context, i.e. its grammatical function". In my article I preferred to use the terms "morphological form" and "syntactical form" respectively. This is admittedly an esoteric use of the word "form", but I was at pains to avoid the word "function" because I consider that in South Africa it has been used to include meaning as well as form. I do not deny the importance of function in grammatical analysis, for sometimes a grammatical category lacks formal features on the morphological level, being characterized by function only, i.e. formal features on the syntactical level. But I do deny a place to the old sense of the word "function" as it was used by Jespersen and as it is still used in South Africa. In *The Philosophy of Grammar* Jespersen writes that meaning must be taken into consideration in order to explain the *function* of forms—I would use the word "significance" here—

and also, "It should be the grammarian's task always to keep the two things (form and meaning) in mind, for form and function are inseparable in the life of a language". He seems to equate function and meaning, which is what the South African form-and-function school sometimes seems to do.

Furthermore I deny the validity of the "functional" definitions of parts of speech. In his recently published *The Study of Language*, John Carroll writes when dealing with the Methodology of the Science of Linguistics, "The traditional procedure in morphology and syntax was to identify the parts of speech . . . with reference to their assumed *functions*: for example, nouns were held to be words which refer to 'things', verbs to 'actions', adjectives to 'qualities'." He goes on to point out the resulting confusion. In his excellent textbook, *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*, which Mr Lanham himself mentions, H. A. Gleason writes with regard to the setting up of parts of speech, "The only classes that are grammatically useful are those that are grammatically defined. Most nouns (grammatically defined) do in fact refer to 'persons or things'. Nevertheless nouns are not nouns because of this. The meaning-based class and the grammar-based class are different in enough cases to cause endless confusion". I submit that the "function" classes of the South African form-and-function school are meaning-based classes.

When Gleason sorts words into morphologic or paradigmatic classes and syntactic classes, he does so on the basis of internal and external grammatical behaviour as Professor Guthrie would say, on the basis of morphological and syntactical form as I would say, or on the basis of form and function as Mr Lanham would say and as I would willingly say if I were certain that "function" was to be interpreted as Mr Lanham interprets it. But in this respect Mr Lanham seems to be a faithful follower of the form-and-function school!

Although this is the main reason for my avoidance of the word "function", I believe

there is justification for my esoteric use of the word "form" in the writings of De Saussure and Bloomfield, only to quote the two greatest landmarks in the field of modern descriptive linguistics. De Saussure writes, "La syntax a pour object les fonctions attachées aux unités linguistiques, tandis que la morphologie n'envisage que les formes. Mais cette distinction est illusoire: la série des formes d'un mot ne devient paradigme du flexion que par la comparaison des fonctions attachées aux différentes formes. Formes et fonctions sont solidaires, et il est difficile, pour ne pas dire impossible, de les séparer". Seeing that it is difficult if not impossible to separate form and function the use of the same term "form" for both, obviates the necessity to do so. This term may be qualified by "morphological" or "syntactical" if the need arises. And Bloomfield uses the term "taxeme", defined as "the smallest unit of form", to refer to units of modulation, order and selection. "In languages using highly complex taxemes of selection, taxemes of order are largely non-distinctive", and taxemes of modulation may be either morphological or syntactical. Here Bloomfield sets the precedent for the use of the term "form" at both the morphological and syntactical levels. Morphology and syntax do not operate in watertight compartments, and form as the criterion for grammatical analysis is concerned with grammatical form, both morphological and syntactical.

It seems that I have not made myself clear with regard to adverbs, and this has led Mr Lanham to see "serious weaknesses" in the formal approach at the level of syntax. I defined adverbs on formal grounds as "nominals without agreement". Nominals have both morphological and syntactical features, and agreement is a grammatical device operating at the syntactical level whose elements are to be observed at the morphological level. In addition however, there is the feature of grammatical behaviour—to me a *formal* feature—to which Mr Lanham refers, which has no elements at the morphological level. This functional identity—to me a *formal* identity—is determined by

the basic technique of substitution, which is used at all levels of linguistic analysis. Very often nouns fall into this class, and I distinguished on formal grounds between nouns, either uninflected or inflected, used adverbially, e.g. *Wakhuluma isikhashana* (He spoke for a short time), *Washaywa ikhanda* (He was hit on the head), and *Wakhuluma nomlungu* (He spoke with a European), *Washaywa yindoda* (He was hit by the man), *Wahlala esihlalweni* (He sat down on the chair), and adverbs, e.g. *Wakhuluma kakhulu* (He spoke a great deal), *Washaywa impela* (He was indeed hit), *Wahlala kanjalo* (He sat down like that). Furthermore clauses may fall into this class, e.g. *Ngi-sebenza lapho behlala khona* (I work where they live), to quote Mr Lanham's example. This cannot be called an adverb: it is an adverbial clause. Seeing that the word *lapho* is an adverb, the clause it introduces is an adverbial clause. Mr Lanham writes, "No formal feature reflects this identity, which, if nothing else, is intuitively felt". I deny the role of intuition, but this identity is itself a common formal feature.

Mr Lanham further criticizes my description of the grammatical structure of Zulu by saying that the form-classes, Nominals and Verbals, are not mutually exclusive. I think that they are, for nominals cannot occur as verbals, nor *vice versa*. Certainly there are copulative nouns, pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and adverbs, displaying some verbal features, but they are nevertheless nominals. To me this seems a better description than to set up a part of speech "copulatives" to include all these different parts of speech. Similarly there are relative verbs displaying some nominal features. There is no part of speech "Nomino-Verbal" in my analysis. Mr Lanham quotes me incorrectly by the addition of the indefinite article. I wrote, "The verb in relative construction is also nomino-verbal", not "a Nomino-Verbal". Certainly I do not regard the list of words given by Mr Lanham as constituting a single part of speech: *owayethenga* and *abathengile* are relative verbs, *yindoda* is the stable form of the noun, *mkhulu* (he is big) and *bebahle* (they being beautiful) are

adjective roots used copulatively, to be distinguished from *ungomkhulu* (he is the big one) and *bengabahle* (they being the beautiful ones), which are copulative adjectives, i.e. adjectives used copulatively, the subject concord being prefixed to the stable form of the adjective. Verbal nouns admittedly constitute a problem, but I would classify *ukuthenga* as a noun rather than as a verb. *Quot homines tot sententiae*. I notice that Mr Lanham in his *Study of GiTonga* treats locatives as adverbs and points out the "substantival function" of which many of them are capable. In my article I treated locatives as nouns and pointed out the adverbial function of which they are capable, together with other nouns, inflected and uninflected. The question is, "Which is the better description?" The element of subjectivity is unavoidable even in the scientific analysis of grammar.

I think Mr Lanham's objection to my description of the phonetic structure of nominal and verbal roots would disappear if he were to bear in mind my footnote, "Read 'root or stem' for 'root' throughout the article". It

is not always possible to differentiate synchronically between the two, for derivations take place during the history of the language from simple forms which then disappear, so that the differentiation can only be known from historical or comparative study. It is true that the suffixes *-ka*, *-la*, and *-za*, are grammatical elements used to form verbs from ideophones, e.g. *khumu* > *khumuka*, but once this derivation has taken place, the root/stem of such verbs as *khumuka*, whether or not the simple form still exists, is *-khumuk-*, the final vowel being a grammatical element. These verbs, denominative verbs and deverbal nouns, are not good examples of the point that Professor Guthrie makes, but they do not invalidate the point. Even Meinhof gives his Ur-Bantu nominal and verbal roots as CV/CVCV and C/CVC respectively.

In my opinion the interpretation put upon the term "function" in the published works of the followers of the South African form-and-function school, is unacceptable, and I do not therefore share Mr Lanham's belief that this school still stands firm in the bright light of modern descriptive linguistics.

BOOK REVIEWS

Justice and Judgment among the Tiv.

PAUL BOHANNAN. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1957. x+221 pp., plates, glossary, and index. 40s.

This book deals with the present-day administration of justice by native courts and moots among a "stateless", segmentary people living on the Benue River. The fundamental local unit or legal community is the *tar* (district) which is occupied by a segment of the patrilineage. Originally disputes not involving violence were dealt with by moots constituted by lineage elders who acted as mystical protectors of the community. Disorders in the lineage, to which bad omens, illness and death were attributed, came before them and they decided upon the appropriate ritual reparation.

After conquest and pacification of the Tiv the British by instituting courts introduced a new idea, but these courts did not replace the moots which continue to function today. The Tiv concept *jir* (court, case), which originally applied to meetings and functions similar to those of present-day moots, provided a framework and vocabulary by means of which the Tiv incorporated these alien courts into their culture. They welcomed the courts which brought them the blessings of law and order and which gradually assumed jurisdiction in disputes originally settled by self-help often leading to violence. This jurisdiction was further extended to cases involving exchange marriages, also originally dealt with by moots, when in 1927 legislation abolished this kind of marriage and bridewealth came into vogue.

The purpose of the book is to describe and analyse what the author calls the "folk system", or interpretations of the people themselves. The orientation is that of the social anthropologist, not of the lawyer, and the reader is requested to judge it by the canons of social anthropology, which imply definition of one's own cultural blinkers and

so enable one to see the ideas and prejudices of other peoples and to study their conceptualisations without the preconceptions of one's own culture. At the same time the author sets out to give a sociological explanation in order thereby to provide an "analytical system" for comparing Tiv jural institutions with those of other societies.

The descriptive analysis and interpretations are written around a number of illuminating cases—seventy-three of them court, five market, one age-set cases and five moots—most of them recorded in the field as the result of personal observation. There are chapters on the constitution of the courts, a day in court, procedure (including calling a *jir*, oaths and witnesses, investigating and ending the *jir*), on marriage and debt cases (the main task of the courts), criminal cases and the problem of self-help, on the market and age-set courts, and on the constitution and operation of moots.

It is clear that a simple comparison of Tiv and, say, English law is not possible without first examining the two idioms and two sets of images in which the jural institutions are seen in these two societies. In the Tiv idiom quarrels are said to "spoil the *tar*", while the adjustments made by the courts "repair the *tar*". When a breach of a jural norm occurs the social act of *jir* is invoked as a counter-action on the part of society and this is followed by other social acts which bring about a correction, either reestablishment of the norm, i.e. action in accordance with the norm broken (specific performance), or retribution (atonement) for the breach which may be restitution (damages) fine or some physical exaction. In the case of moots the counteraction which "repairs the *tar*" is ritual reparation. "The moots are counter-actions to complex disturbances in many social relations, much as the courts are counteractions to simple disturbances in single personal relations."

In this analysis, it will be seen, the use is avoided of the word "sanction", because it is a very complex concept used by western

jurists for examining western systems of law. The author does not refer to some modern western jurists who have also come to the conclusion that the concept of sanctions is inappropriate for the analysis of jural "oughts", and seems to miss the point that the ultimate concepts of juristic analysis, used by jurists, may well be applicable to the Tiv situation.

Certainly the "grossly ethnocentric practice of raising folk systems like the law designed for social action in one's own society to the status of an analytical system and then trying to organise the raw social data from other societies into its categories", is, as the author urges, to be deprecated. But it is quite another thing to attempt to make explicit what is implicit in the folk system in terms of analytical categories such as, say, those of the Hohfeldian scheme, without being guilty of ethnocentrism. The problem is the analysis of law, no matter in what society, in terms of ultimate, universally applicable categories which will be intelligible because they refer to the same things, and for the same reason will make cross-cultural comparisons possible and legitimate. The creation of a new analytical system, without reference to systems worked out by eminent jurists in whose works many of the problems raised by the author are discussed is surely not advocated by anthropologists.

It is contended (pp. 96-7) that when Tiv judges settle disputes they do so in terms of their knowledge of Tiv institutions not of rules of these institutions which have been resystematised in some *corpus juris* for the purposes of jural action. In the folk system there are only laws and norms of institutions, no discipline of law. This may well be so, but the cases are not reported in sufficient detail to disclose the reasoning by means of which judges arrive at their decisions. In some of the more complicated cases involving multiplex relations or interests, it would seem that the courts invoke general moral principles and even abstract legal norms which imply an incipient body of rules.

The Tiv apparently recognises that "repairing the *tar*" is necessary for its well-being and proper functioning. It is, however,

argued that because the parties must agree both with the rule of action decreed by the court and to carry it out, and because the Tiv assume that a correct solution exists, conceptions of authority and enforcement form no part of their jural institutions. It is a misconception, we are told, to see public opinion as an enforcing agent because this is an additive element, not how the Tiv see it and foreign to their folk system. This would seem to imply some mystical effectiveness in the "oughts" of agreement and acceptance of the correct solution. The conceptions of authority and enforcement may well not be explicit in Tiv jural institutions, but they certainly appear to be implied in the fact that reprisals, which "spoil the *tar*", occur particularly where the courts are inefficient or too distant to be effective.

The analysis of Tiv jural institutions, like those of any other society, seems to show that the distinctive mark of law is the manipulation of power to achieve order. And this proposition is not negated by the fact that in some cases even the wronged person himself is recognised to have the privilege of self-right-enforcement. Where a man takes direct action to protect his interests and himself deals with and punishes a thief, he does not "spoil" but "repairs" the *tar*. Where, however, the counteraction is motivated by anti-social sentiment it is not privileged, is considered to "spoil" the *tar* and may lead to murder. Privileged self-help certainly implies some recognition of the concepts of enforcement and authority even though the political authorities are not directly involved.

These are some of the interesting problems discussed in this book. There are many others. For instance, one form of reprisal is the song contest or "drumming the scandal" which, unlike the Eskimo *nith* songs but like the Trobriand *yakala* and other competitive food exchanges or displays, is more apt to stir up conflicts than to settle them. Consequently it is said to "spoil" rather than to "repair" the *tar*. It is also interesting that there were no institutionalised feuds among the Tiv.

The book is a good and much-needed description and analysis of a folk system, and can be strongly recommended to both

the anthropologist and the lawyer as a valuable contribution to our understanding of African jural institutions.

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Study of Discrimination in Education.

CHARLES D. AMMOUN, Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. United Nations, New York. 1957. viii + 182 pp. 9s.

This study of discrimination in education is global in its spread and alive with information presented clearly, objectively, challengingly. The sustained urgency demands the attention of reformers, of legislators, sociologists, religious leaders, teachers, enlightened tycoons, or those who fear they are voices in a wilderness.

The challenge is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and its echoes gather force and clarity: that all have the right to education which shall free, and be free—at least in the earlier stages—and shall be compulsory; that technical and professional education shall become generally available; that college and university education shall be equally accessible to all who merit it; that education shall aid the full development of personality, strengthen respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; promote understanding, tolerance and universal friendship, transcending religion and race; and that it shall safeguard the maintenance of peace.

Of all forms of discrimination in education the most deeply rooted are based on race and colour. A policy based on fear of losing privilege results in measures to deny education to entire population groups, or to allow them access to education at a lower level only . . . "otherwise the fiction of racial inferiority would be destroyed, and it would be difficult if not impossible to deny the group the full exercise of its political rights". Because colour prejudices have their roots in self-interest, economic exploitation and political domination, they create an impassable gulf

between people who should understand one another.

Such strictures are world-wide in their application. They are highlighted as attention is focussed on one country and then another, and of such attention the Union of South Africa, and other African territories receive their due share. Interesting parallels with South Africa are apparent in Kenya and Tanganyika, where co-racial education at present is found impracticable at the primary stage; on the other hand profound differences are revealed in the Belgian Congo, and in the Portuguese African "rudimentary schools", where the approach is less conservative, progressively more liberal, yet withal fairly cautious.

Indeed, Africa features prominently throughout the report, for the potent reason that almost the entire continent is much behind the times. This is again evident in the field of sex discrimination. Throughout most of Africa, and indeed Asia as well, women are regarded as less important to society. It is interesting to discover that Swaziland, Basutoland and Bechuanaland are excepted, strange almost, for generally it is the tribal structure that handicaps the education of girls, accentuated by fears for their morality, their social acceptability and even the fear that educated African women will be unwilling to work. Some tribes, however, favour the education of girls on the grounds that it improves "bride-price". This is not a far cry to more civilized countries, for in the Lebanon education improves a girl's marriageability. Yet in highly civilized countries sex discrimination is often very evident. In Luxembourg for instance, the secondary school girls begin their Latin three years after the boys, and are taught no mathematics!

Teaching, of course, has generally been regarded as a woman's job; yet many countries suffer from an almost paralyzing shortage of women teachers. Quite remarkably, nevertheless, the Republic of Korea does not permit women to teach! Throughout India and much of the Moslem world a vicious circle operates: relatively few girls go to school or stay the school course, illiteracy

among women is widespread, and few are available for or interested in teaching. Paradoxically, Islam, that knows neither race nor colour bar, virtually condones widespread sex discrimination!

In 1952 the percentage of primary teachers who were women was 19 in Pakistan, 17 in India and 4 in Afghanistan! Indonesia, with 92 per cent illiteracy, has no girls in the primary or secondary technical schools. Certainly one of the major priorities in the field of world education, and world uplift, is the removal of sex discrimination.

Discrimination in education which is based on religion is clearly waning. The long and dramatic struggle is coming to an end. It is significant to find that in a country like Egypt, with 17½ million Moslems and 1½ million Christians, religious discrimination is not tolerated. In Colombia, on the other hand, the Church still exercises far-reaching control of education. Uruguay, again, gives its 40,000 Jews an extensive say in this field.

The question of Jewish education and anti-Semitism, coupled with quota issues, is carefully considered. Here the report rather judiciously proceeds largely by way of quotation: "Despite the sincerest declarations against religious, philosophical or racist anti-Semitism, there is in truth a Jewish problem; it is raised by the Jews themselves, from whose minds and thoughts it is fundamentally never absent . . . practical problems raised by a certain particularism and a restless, enterprising attitude characteristic of the Jews." (The quota principle) "is a microbe which does not infect the whole organism from the very beginning but is, even at that stage, infectious and harmful. It must be extirpated wholly."

.... "It is allegedly in the name of the common weal that anti-Semitism is fomented; the end result, however, is the corruption and brutalization of those incited to it, through the elevation in them of those instincts which are the lowest, the most immoral and the most incompatible with human social life." "The Jew's role is to provide a ferment." (These quotations are from responsible non-Jewish sources.)

Discrimination in education is often based

on social origin, property, or on political or other opinions; and forsooth politics, like religion, may kindle passionate, fanatical attitudes. Generally, however, the university population of a country is the inverted image of the actual population of workers, with the one-third middle and upper class population contributing eight-ninths of the university population. India, too, has this problem and it is therefore interesting to find that the Indian Supreme Court held that the right of admission to educational institutions is a right which every individual citizen has as a citizen and not as a member of any community or class of citizens.

Rural, nomadic and indigenous populations generally suffer discrimination in education, because of poor facilities, equipment, restricted subject offering, less efficient teaching associated partly with unattractive service conditions. These drawbacks are in part responsible for the general flight from the land to the city and the creation of the urban proletariat. In passing, it is notable that in 1956 Iraq opened the world's first television station devoted primarily to child and adult education. However, where the gap between the social classes is most marked, namely in the under-developed countries, the greatest measure of discrimination, or denial of opportunity is found; so much so that in more than one country revolutions and repressions were merely the outcome of a discriminatory educational system. Thus Belgium has 97 per cent literacy and 262 per 100,000 of its population in universities; U.S.A. 97 per cent literacy and 1,783 correspondingly in universities; whereas the comparable figures in Egypt and India are 20 and 189, and 19 and 111 respectively. The under-developed countries face a task, the provision of universal education, that is gigantic, costly and baffling. In the interim they must continue to send their best students overseas.

A special feature of the report is the teaching of minority languages and the preservation of the cultural heritages of minorities. This has special significance to those interested in the language problems inherent in the South African situation. One is

struck by an agreement between Bolivia and Peru: "Our object is not to incorporate the Indians into civilized life, which is the principle accepted by most authorities concerned with the problem, but to incorporate western civilization into the life of the Indian, while respecting and strengthening the high qualities of the Indians, who have made a brilliant contribution to world culture." If we South Africans believe we have unique, incommensurate problems we might reflect that the problems in India, for example, are far more formidable, and that even a land such as Mexico, apart from its European languages, has over fifty Indian languages!

South African teachers have somewhat hazy notions about language issues and solutions in countries such as Belgium, Wales, Switzerland, Canada, Finland and the U.S.S.R. The report is most illuminating: the trend is to regard indigenous cultures as valuable and distinctive elements of national culture to be safeguarded and sensibly integrated into national communities, regardless of their level of development. In so far as it is at all possible, every child should receive its elementary education in the mother tongue, and each group should be allowed to decide freely upon the importance it attaches to the mother tongue in the educational process. Without this there can be no healthy self-confidence or tolerance, both of which are required in the exercise of self-government and world peace.

Hence one finds many plural communities maintaining separate school systems; but in recent years there has been a tendency towards the strengthening of multi-racial upper primary and secondary schools, and of course, universities. So we find the 1955 General Assembly of UNESCO stating: "At secondary level separate school systems can be justified only in very exceptional circumstances and as a temporary expedient, and at no level should differences be established on a racial basis"; and again, "in principle and practice universities and colleges of higher education, both general and technical, should be inter-racial and open to students without discrimination."

All this gives point to the main theme, that the school is the starting point, the foundation of every single form of struggle against discrimination in general; that the school (and the teachers!) must promote understanding, tolerance, friendship among all nations, all racial and religious groups, and so further the cause of peace. This is beyond argument, and so too the rider, that education is probably the most important function of the State and local governments, the very foundation of good citizenship, to be available to all on equal terms.

But this stressing of equality of opportunity has gone hand in hand with the acceptance of the doctrine, e.g. until recently in the U.S.A., of "separate but equal". To a large extent this remains a global problem, even though scientific evidence is overwhelmingly against the view that race is a factor which determines level of intelligence or other innate dispositions. Indeed, to quote: "for a people as sporting as the English, to beat them at sport is the first step to gaining their esteem".

But argument avails little when race and educational prejudice is rooted in or sanctified by religion. In a 1954 UNESCO report Pastor W. A. Visser't Hooft writes: "racial prejudice is not just a form of ignorance which can be progressively dispelled by enlightenment or by the proclamation of the idea of racial understanding. Pride can only be overcome by a force which makes for humility. An egocentric will-to-power can only be counteracted by a deep sense of responsibility for and kinship with those who are in danger of becoming the victims of that attitude." Again, a Roman Catholic church authority writes: "in South Africa . . . the great majority of non-Europeans and particularly Africans, have not yet reached a stage of development that would justify their integration into a homogenous society with the European. A sudden and violent attempt to force them into the mould of European manners and customs would be disastrous . . . they should be permitted to evolve gradually to full participation, and for this task the non-Europeans must earnestly prepare themselves."

In conclusion the point is made that prejudices, and the discrimination in which they result, represent an additional burden on the state budget. Nationalism has played a vital role in the liberation of the human personality; conversely, nations and groups of people can no longer be kept in intellectual isolation. Discrimination is losing ground in education, but there remains much that is equivocal, indirect, shamefaced and underhand. The reformers may disturb and irritate. That is their function, but in the world of today there is much to be said for campaigning justly and courteously, in keeping with what one strives for, with the enlightened mentality of modern men and modern times, and bearing in mind always that advice is acceptable to others only if within the realm of their possibilities.

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Nuer Religion. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD.
 Oxford University Press. 1956. xii +
 336 pp., 15 plates, 5 figures. 42s.

Nuer Religion has close links with Professor Evans-Pritchard's earlier writings. Firstly, it serves to complete his trilogy on the Nuer, whose social structure and domestic life he analysed in *The Nuer* and *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer*. Secondly, it returns to a field of study in which he was conspicuously successful when he wrote his first major contribution to social anthropology, *Witchcraft Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, i.e., the systematic exploration and analysis of a system of beliefs. Just as he examined the many aspects of Zande witch beliefs and allied phenomena, seeking their logical inter-relationships, so does he approach Nuer religious beliefs as a system of mutually dependent doctrines with associated social behaviour.

Nuer Religion resembles the Azande book in being primarily a systematic ethnography and only secondarily a sociology of mystical belief. By careful description and illustra-

tion followed by exhaustive analysis, Evans-Pritchard succeeds in laying bare the total pattern into which Nuer religious beliefs and their social concomitants fall. Though this approach has the effect of making sociological analysis incidental, it is fruitful in its results and justified by the fact that the author has already written a full sociological study of the Nuer. As he puts it, "In this final volume I have tried to show how some features of their religion can be presented more intelligibly in relation to the social order described in the earlier volumes but I have tried also to describe and interpret it as a system of ideas and practices in its own right" (p. 320).

The picture of Nuer religion that Evans-Pritchard reveals to us is a rich one. Despite the "primitive" character of those who profess it, it is striking in its high level of philosophical speculation, logical reasoning and what Pareto referred to as "symbolic appropriateness".

The core of the Nuer religious system is a belief in an all-pervading Spirit, which is "conceived of, in its most comprehensive and transcendental sense, as God, the father and creator in the sky. . . The spirits of the air [comprise] Spirit conceived of under more particular forms and which falls from above and seizes and enters into men, and through them is associated with political activities" (p. 91). These spirits of the air sometimes become spirits of lineages; though more often it is Spirit in a more immanent and material form, manifesting itself as the spirits of the below, that is refracted by the social order in the form of the totemic spirits, represented by natural species and respected by lineages, and totemistic spirits, respected in their earthly manifestations by individuals rather than groups.

In spite of the fact that the Nuer are well known for their practice of ghost marriage, the part played by ancestor spirits ("ghosts") in their religion is of minor importance. The Nuer "are little interested in the ghosts of the dead, so long as they cause no trouble" (p. 159). The Nuer believe that the ghosts of those they have wronged will haunt them, bringing about their illness or even death, the

mystical process employed being basically similar to that of the curse that is believed to operate between living people. The subordination of this system to the cardinal belief in God or Spirit is, however, evident from the fact that "A person's curse of another is only effective if he is in the right and the other in the wrong" (p. 172), and "it is God who makes the ghostly vengeance to work. Nuer say that the wronged ghost exacts vengeance by making his cause known to God, who sooner or later punishes the wrongdoer" (p. 176).

Similarly, "when a sin is expiated or pollution is wiped out by sacrifice it is made to God alone" (p. 200). It is true, however, that at certain collective sacrifices, "which may be to Spirit in some totemic or other refraction" (p. 201), the ghosts may be invoked together with God in some such formula as "God, thou and the ghosts" (p. 201). Thus all sacrifices are made to God, even on those occasions which most directly concern the dead. Sacrifices take the form of presentation, consecration, invocation and immolation. The spear has great symbolic significance. In a sacrifice concerned with an individual's welfare, it represents his virtue and his vitality; and, in one concerning a whole lineage, it symbolizes, through its founder, the whole group. Since an ox is the sacrificial animal *par excellence*, sacrifice is one aspect of the close link between the Nuer and their cattle, which not only provide them with food, tools, ornaments etc., but are also "the means by which men can enter into communication with God" (p. 271).

Recent contact between the Nuer and the outside world has been associated as elsewhere with the rise of prophets. Whereas the traditional (leopard-skin) priests are of long standing, succeed to hereditary offices, have clear functions (especially in rites following homicide) and are the means by which man speaks to God, prophets are a recent development, are charismatic, have indeterminate functions and are the means by which God speaks to man.

One of the privileges of the twentieth-century fieldworker is to put to the test some of the speculations of earlier theorists. An

interesting feature of *Nuer Religion* is the light it throws on the hypotheses of Lévy-Bruhl (p. 140), Tylor (p. 158) and various writers on sacrifice (pp. 272 ff.). In the chapters on symbols and sacrifice and in the final one, Evans-Pritchard makes some notable contributions to comparative religion. One of his remarks on symbols not only summarizes his refutation of Lévy-Bruhl's earlier writings but also reveals the depth of his understanding of the Nuer, acquired, as it was, in the incredibly short space of a year's field trip. One of the reasons, he tells us, "why there has been misunderstanding is that the poetic sense of primitive peoples has not been sufficiently allowed for, so that it has not been appreciated that what they say is often to be understood in that sense and not in any ordinary sense. . . Lacking plastic and visual arts, the imagination of this sensitive people [the Nuer] finds its sole expression in ideas, images and words" (pp. 142-43).

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Studien zum Kwangali. ERNST DAMMANN.
Universität Hamburg. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Aulandskunde. Band 63, Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen, Band 35. Gram de Gruyter & Co., Hamburg. ix + 184 pp. DM 21.

Dr Dammann is more especially known for his studies in connection with the Bantu languages of East Africa, viz. Swahili and some of its dialects (e.g. Lamu), Dzalamo, Digo, Segeju. Now this work deals with Kwangali, a Bantu language of south-western Africa (western zone), which is clearly related to Kwanyama and in certain respects also to Ambo and Mbundu. It is undoubtedly a publication which will be particularly welcomed by students of Bantu languages, especially since so relatively little is known of Kwangali and other languages—even the better known ones—of this part of the Bantu language area; and what has been

published is mainly not of a high standard.

It is also of interest that Kwangali has been somewhat influenced—to what extent, must still be ascertained—by Bushman, as is evidenced by the click sound(s) occurring in this Bantu language. (Dammann has observed dental and palatoalveolar clicks, which are, at least in a measure, interchangeable.)

Dammann's *Studien zum Kwangali* is not intended to be a complete—or even relatively complete—grammar of this language; the author's sojourn in the area concerned was too brief to enable him to publish such a work. He himself says: "Ich habe deshalb darauf verzichtet, eine Grammatik zu schreiben, sondern mich bewusst auf 'Studien' beschränkt." The Kwangali-speaking people number only about 20,000; yet this language performs a fairly important function as a common and church language in the north-eastern part of South-West-Africa.

This study of Kwangali contains, firstly, a concise sketch of the sound system, some sound changes, some comparisons with Ur-Bantu (B), as well as the orthography employed. A conjunctive method of writing (with a few exceptions) is used by Dammann. In regard to the sound laws the vowel assimilation obtaining in verb stems used in present and past tenses should be specially mentioned, e.g. **tanimono** (I see) < ***tani-mona** < **ta** (verb aux.) + **ni** (subj. conc.) + **mona** (see)—a phenomenon which is met with, not only in languages of the western zone, but also in languages such as Soli and Lwena of the west-central zone. Then the morphology or grammar is dealt with—a section of the book which comprises about 90 pages.

Regarding the noun classes the following should be noted: Initial vowels (prefixes) do not occur, except in class 5 (3 sing.), where the prefix **e-** is probably a contracted or shortened form of **eli-** (< B. **yali**); the prefix of class 4 (2 plur.) and class 10 (5 plur.) is **no-**; according to Dammann the locative **ku-** class (17) is actually identical with the infinitive **ku-** class (15), with the result that he classifies together an infinitive like **kurara** (to sleep) and a form like

kuwoko ((at/etc.) the -arm). The locatives (locative classes) are, in any case, not treated satisfactorily and fully enough; the writer should also have given more illustrative examples—a defect which also applies with regard to other grammatical forms treated by him. The diminutive classes, 13 (with **ka-**) and 12 (with **tu-**), exist in Kwangali; and class 5 (with **e-**) also includes augmentatives.

With regard to the subjectival concords, the forms **gu-** and **ga-** of classes 3 and 6 merit special attention because of the retention of the consonant, **g** (< B. **y**). Furthermore the concord of class 1 is **a-**, but in pronominal forms the vowel is also preceded by the consonant **g**; and that of classes 4 and 10 (with **no-** as prefix) is **di-**, which evidently derives from B. **li-**. The form **zi-** of class 9 should also be specially noted.

The form of the absolute pronoun is interesting on account of the initial **a-** (< B. **ya**), which corresponds with the initial vowel of Bantu nouns, e.g. **ame** (I), **ove** (you — sing.), **age** (he/she—class 1), **awo** (they—class 2). There are also variant forms with initial **i-** for the third person forms, e.g. **ige** (cl. 1), **iwo** (cl. 2). In addition, the variants **nyame**, **nyove**, etc., for the first and second persons are also used; here the initial **ny-** (< B. **ni**) is a copulative formative meaning "it is". The initial **a-** also occurs in demonstratives of the 1st and 2nd positions, e.g. **ava** (cl. 2, 1st pos.).

According to Dammann's description of the composition of the pronominal possessive (p. 33) it is not clear—or, at least, not clearly stated—that it contains the possessive element **a** (=of, belonging to).

There is no relative pronoun or concord in Kwangali; in relative constructions a demonstrative pronoun (generally one of the 1st position) is employed. The adjective uses as concord what Dammann calls the "emphatic pronominal stem" (i.e. **go-**, cl. 1; **wo-**, cl. 2; **so-**, cl. 7, etc.) followed by the class prefix, e.g. **vanthu wovasupi** (short/small people). Copulative adjectives have only a class prefix as their concord, e.g. **munthu msupi** (the person is short/small). Kwangali has a quinary numeral system, the numeral stems

for 1 to 5 being **-mwe**, **-vali**, **-tatu**, **-ne**, **-tano**, respectively.

Regarding the verb the following may be pointed out: Imperatives of monosyllabic verb stems such as **koli** (eat!, <**ly**, eat), **kofu** (die!, <**fa**<***fwa**, die) are of special interest. Dammann contends that the element **ko-** is the emphatic pronominal stem (p. 50), but to me it appears to contain an imperative or hortative formative **ka**.

In this language a verbal auxiliary can precede the subjectival concord, as is illustrated by the example **tanimono** (I see), already given. Incidentally, the assimilation of the final vowel to that of the stem of the verb in such verbal forms has already been noted. This type of assimilation has, however, not taken place in all verb stems in Kwangali. (The assimilated (terminal) vowel was probably originally an **-i**, as it is still found in the form **gendi**<**genda**, go; cf. my publications: "The Phonology of Soli", p. 261, in *Zeitschrift für Eingeborensprachen*, Band XXVI, Heft 4, 1936, and *The Grammar of Soli*, Annals of the University of Stellenbosch, Vol. XIV, Sec. B, No. 1, Oct. 1936).

Concerning the "progressive" present tense (p. 52), wherein the auxiliary **na** is followed by the infinitive of the verb stem, e.g. **tunakuwiza** (we are coming), it is not clear what the writer means when he says that according to his information, this tense must be used when it is *preceded* by "an object or a corresponding adverbial extension", especially since he compares it with the long (emphatic) present tense of Zulu. No example is given.

The potential/conditional auxiliary is used—as in other Bantu languages—in the "indefinite" future tense, e.g. **nganimona** (<**ninganimona**), I shall see.

There is also an immediate past tense with the perfect suffix, viz. **-ire** (<B. **-ile**), e.g. **sika** (arrive)>**sikire**. It undergoes changes in certain cases; it becomes **-ere** if the vowel of the verb stem is the open or relatively open **a**, **o** or **e**, e.g. **gava** (divide, deal out)>**gavere**; **reta** (bring)>**retere**; and it becomes **-ine** or **-ene** if the consonant of the second syllable is the nasal **m** or **n**, e.g. **tuma** (send)>**tumine**, **mona** (see)>**monene** (in addi-

tion to **mwene**), **mana** (bring to an end)>**manene** (in addition to **mene**). These changes are cases of "partial" assimilation, which are also characteristic of other Bantu languages. Shortened or contracted forms such as **tengwire**<**tengura** (return), **tomwene**<**tomona** (make a hole in), also occur. This tense includes the verbal auxiliary **ka**, e.g. **kanisikire** (I arrived). There further exists a remote past tense formed from the perfect stem, e.g. **namwene** (<**ni** + **a** + **mwene**), I saw; **twaretere**, we brought. Furthermore there is a perfect tense, which is, however, not formed by means of the perfect suffix, e.g. **twamona** (<**tu** + **a** + **mona**), we have seen.

It is noticeable that with monosyllabic verb stems the **-a** is not the stem vowel, as is shown by the forms **tununu** (we drank) (<**tu** + **na** + **nu**), where **nu**<**nwa** (drink); **anafu** (he has died, . . . is dead), where **fu**<**fa**<***fwa** (die); **tanili** (I eat), where **li**<**ly** (eat) (cf. my publications already referred to viz. "The Phonology of Soli" and *The Grammar of Soli*).

The defective verb stem **li** (<B. **li**, be) is used, especially in forms having the locative element **po**, **ko** or **mo**, as the initial formative, like **kotuli** (we are there), **monili** (I am therein).

The section dealing with the negative conjugation (p. 66) is rather brief. The writer says that a distinction is made between the negative of a declarative ("einer Aussage"), an exhortative (einer Aufforderung), and an infinitive form. About the first he says that it is made negative by prefixing **kapi** (the **ka-** apparently being the negative particle in many Bantu languages) to the verb, e.g. **kapi tunakumona** (we do not see). The infinitive is negated by **no . . . si**, e.g. **no kunwa si** (not to drink).

As to the derivative verb stems, there is no passive stem (as e.g. in Mbundu), although in some stems traces of the passive suffix are still to be found.

The applied derivative suffix (B. **-ela**) has undergone the same sort of changes as the perfect suffix (-**ire**, etc.), e.g. **tanthera**<**tantha** (say), but **zuvira**<**zuya** (hear), **tomena**<**toma** (slaughter). The neutral and

causative suffixes are **-eka** or **-ika** and **-esa** or **-isa** respectively, according to the stem vowel of the verb stem, e.g. **moneka** <**mona** (see), **zuvika** <**zuva** (hear), **fanesa** <**fana** (resemble), **lisa** <**lya** (eat). Stems ending in **-ra** have this termination replaced by the causative suffix **-da** (<**B. lya**). There is also the causative suffix **-eka** or **-ika**, e.g. **faneka** (cause to resemble).

Nothing special is to be remarked upon concerning the ideophone, conjunctive and interjective.

Word-formation and syntax are also dealt with, the latter including some notes relating to the copulative.

Dammann has found that there is no special copulative formative in Kwangali (although such a formative probably formerly played an important part). The following are examples in which a substantive, as the subject, is employed with a following substantive or adjective or possessive as the predicate: **ame mnthu** (I am a person), **nyama ezi mbihu** (this meat is raw), **nyame ogu** (I am this one), **iwo vangandu** (it is crocodiles), **imaliva eyi yange** (this money is mine). The subjectival concord (**ni-**) may also be used in a form like **ame mnthu**, thus **ame ni mnthu**.

Finally there follow some very valuable Kwangali texts together with translations, as well as a Kwangali-German glossary.

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Kikuyu Social and Political Institutions.

H. E. LAMBERT. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London. 1956. 149 pp. 15s.

The author, formerly an administrative officer in Kenya, is experienced in dealing with applied anthropology regarding the Kikuyu, e.g. the use of indigenous authorities in tribal administration and systems of land tenure, and he has made a comprehensive collection of material regarding the social

and political institutions of the tribes of the Kikuyu Land Unit in Kenya. In view of the current interest in Kikuyu affairs, he has published part of this material as a preliminary book, which is sufficiently informative for the reader who does not wish to specialize in detailed aspects of the relevant social system or in local anthropology or administration. The book can be strongly recommended.

The author portrays the age-set organization as the framework within which the life of every Kikuyu, male or female, is regulated from infancy to old age. He shows how the political and territorial organization, the structure and the control of social life and marriage, the judicial system and the administration of justice, are all integrated in the age-set system. The book includes descriptions of the system of "ad hoc courts" whereby disputes are settled and social equilibrium maintained; of the "handing-over" ceremony at which the government passes from one ruling generation to another; of the importance of the opinion of the elders and experienced tribesmen; of the activity of the pre-initiation age-sets; and of the military and police duties and the rituals of the regiments.

In Kikuyu tribes no natural chieftainship of the type found among other South and East African peoples exists, and therefore more importance attaches to the organized age-groups and the function of the aged. While the social and political functions of other South and East African peoples rest more or less on three main principles, i.e. (1) genealogical rank system based on chieftainship and polygyny, (2) sense of the clan and family to act as a community, and (3) grouping according to age, among the Kikuyu we find only the latter two main socio-political principles. However, many of the functions of the genealogical rank system are incorporated in the age-set system.

It would be interesting if in his forthcoming work the author could give his opinion on the exact extension of the area of this sociological phenomenon and the possible cultural-historical development leading to it, e.g. its origin in geographical and economic

conditions, the influence of earlier cultures, the smaller importance of polygyny and the decline of ancestor worship in relation to other religious institutions.

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method. This would appear to be the case with "non-return" or "valved" baskets. There is a "scoop" basket and a "scoop" net—a term which gives a good indication of the method of use but gives no indication of what the instrument is like or what are its operative principles. It merely describes an action. Scoop baskets, like valve baskets, may differ in shape and size according to area. It is certainly time that an accepted terminology for all fishing instruments was evolved.

Maclarens system of classification is his own and embraces seven main categories of instrument or device. They are: fixed instruments, nets, thrusting and dragging implements, hooks, projectiles, poisons, and miscellaneous. It looks simple but it has the disadvantage of putting many dissimilar devices in one group. For example the first category includes such widely divergent devices as baskets and complete enclosures and shelter islands.

Under miscellaneous, stunning clubs are mentioned but no other accessory. There must be others. For example the Twa on the Kafue used to use a paddle with a fork on the top end which was used for retrieving the spear after it had been thrown at a fish.

It would also have been worth mentioning (I do not know whether this has been suggested before) that the "dark hut" method might have been learned from watching certain birds, for example, the black heron, which stand in water and shade patches of it by raising their wings.

Northern Rhodesia is dealt with in the greatest detail but Maclarens also brings in comparative material from most of the other Southern Africa countries south of latitude 7°. Altogether it is a valuable contribution to the literature on the subject.

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The Fishing Devices of Central and Southern Africa. P. I. R. MACLAREN. Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. 1958. 48 pp., 2 maps, 17 photographs. 3s.

Maclarens death (he was taken by a crocodile whilst bathing in the Kafue River) in 1956 was a loss to research in Northern Rhodesia. He was a Fisheries Officer with 5 years experience on the West Coast as well as 5 years in Central Africa, and he was just reaching the stage of writing about his work. He refers to one article in *Man* on "Netting knots and the needles", but whether he had written others I do not know.

Maclarens indicates that the only attempted universal classification of fishing gear is "cumbersome". It would appear also that there is no acknowledged common name for the same instrument. Maclarens refers to "clap nets" whereas other authors call the same device "clasp nets". He refers to "valved baskets"; the older term is "non-return baskets". Seine netting is given a heading by Maclarens under "Draw Nets", but then he has to sub-divide into the more familiar shore seine and open water seine together with a combined lift-and-draw net found on the Barotse plain.

Differences in nomenclature arise between authors according to whether they prefer the name used to describe the instrument or the